Houses of Correction

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Carceral Institutions and Humanist Culture in Early Modern England

Matthew Ritger

PENN

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No bitternesse that I will bitter thinke,
Nor double pennance to correct correction.
—Shakespeare, sonnet 111

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NOTES ON THE TEXT

When transcribing marginalia or manuscript sources such as the court minutes of Bridewell and Christ's Hospital, I have used semi-diplomatic conventions to maintain as much of the detail of handwritten text as possible, including original spelling (retaining i/y, i/j, u/v), although I silently modernize long s, expand abbreviations and brevigraphs, translate Roman to Arabic numerals, and lower superscripts, using brackets to indicate these changes. For early modern printed texts, I maintain most details of the early printed text by preserving original orthography, punctuation, capitalization, and italics, while silently modernizing i/y, i/j, u/v, long s/s, for ease of reading.

Bridewell's court minute-books are now held in the archives of the Bethlem Museum of the Mind, "Series BCB (Bridewell Court Books), Minutes of the Court of Governors, 1559–1971 (37 volumes)," available online since at least 2014: https://archives.museumofthemind.org.uk/BCB.htm. To help readers access these sources in Bethlem's image viewer, my citations follow the following format: BCB-[volume number], fol. [folio page number] / [image number in Bethlem's digital viewer]. For example: BCB-01, fol. 58^{v} / 149.

John Howes's original manuscripts are now held in the London Archives, CLC/210/D/026/001 and CLC/210/D/026/002. In the twentieth century, a transcription of the 1582 discourse was published in William Lempriere, ed., *John Howes MS 1582: Being a Brief Note of the Order and Manner of the Proceedings in the First Erection of the Three Royal Hospitals* (Septimus Morgan, 1904), while a transcription of the 1587 text was published in R. H. Tawney, ed., *Tudor Economic Documents: Being select documents illustrating the economic and social history of Tudor England*, vol. 3 (Longmans, 1924), 421–44. Having confirmed the accuracy of these transcriptions against their originals, my citations follow these twentieth-century publications and their page numbers, as they are now much more widely available (with the exception of a prefatory epistle to the 1587 manuscript, discussed briefly in Chapter 3). Their titles are abbreviated as *Howes 1582* and *Howes 1587*.

INTRODUCTION

Carceral Humanism and the Culture of Correction

When the printer Richard Grafton began "overseying" the establishment of England's first house of correction in 1553, he was already known as one of London's foremost advocates for what might now be called civic or Christian humanism.[1] Grafton's dedication to a revitalized and reformed "new learning" had been demonstrated by his publications, including translations of Aristotle's *Ethiques* (1547), Plutarch's *Preceptes* (1543), and Erasmus's dialogues (1545); in the woodcut that follows his colophon in the vernacular *Primer, and catechism* (1552), Grafton's overlaid initials "R" and "G" are enshrined among representations of the seven liberal arts.[2] But Grafton was equally if not better known for his projects of social reform. He served as the first treasurer-general and one of the original governors of London's new royal hospitals, which included the orphanage and school of Christ's Hospital, in the dissolved Gray Friars monastery where Grafton's print shop was also located, as well as the house of correction, to be established in an abandoned palace called Bridewell.[3] "Who knoweth not his diligence laboring for and attending on that noble worke . . . in erecting the Hospitalles?" Thomas Norton asked in a flattering preface to one of Grafton's versions of the English chronicles, published in 1569; Norton commended the printer for sinking his own "labors and expences" into the political experiment of these organizations, especially the new prison, which Grafton had selflessly put first "before all his owne business," to his own "great hindraunce."[4] In the twenty-first century, by contrast, that prison has disappeared from Grafton's biography, and its archives have not been thoroughly considered as sources of information for the history of humanist culture.[5]

This book restores the house of correction to the central position it once occupied in the cultural imagination of early modern England and among the concerns of a "renaissance man" such as Richard Grafton.[6] Manuscripts written for the governors by Grafton's secretary, framed as a dialogue between the humanist virtues of Dignity and Duty, describe how his crews both "builded & severed Roomes" within the old palace in the 1550s, retrofitting the space to fit the needs of their new carceral institution.[7] Bridewell, as the house of correction, was to become both a prison and a workhouse, a place where London's "idell & maisterles" poor would be "punishe[d] or correcte[d]" but also "compellde to labour" and thereby trained in skills and crafts.[8] What had once been Henry VIII's dining room became "lodgings for the prisoners," made up of group cells or sides, separated by gender.[9] "Suche implements as was necessarie to sette the idell aworke" were brought in, and multiple whipping posts were constructed: two in the courtyards, one in the courtroom, and eventually one in each of the workhouses, which included a "wool-house," "yarn-house," "spinning-house," "nail-house," "mill-house," and "bake-house."[10] Divisions were erected in the chapel, while workshops were constructed in the palace's Long Gallery for cloth-workers and packthread-makers as well as an instrument-maker and puppeteer.[11] The prison's court records began soon thereafter with a servant named Morgan Evans who had "lewdely [and] disobediently behaved him selfe" toward his master but was quickly released for his "submission" and upon "hope of amendment."[12] Those disciplined were usually brought in on pretenses of vagrancy, idleness, and suspicions of sexual impropriety to serve varying sentences of a few weeks or months; common tasks included turning the mill or beating hemp, though there were also longer-term apprenticeships.[13] Some entry and exit records feature frustratingly few details: "William Thorneton a vagabond delyvered out of this House the [12] of February 1559 upon hope of amendment. John Hynde a vagabond delyverd out of this House the [12] of February 1559 upon hope of amendment. George Taylor a vagabond delyverd out of this House the [12] of February upon hope of amendmentt."[14] But many of the court's records contain longer and more detailed stories, including in those sessions presided over by "M[aster] Grafton" or "R. G."[15] Bridewell's bench soon averaged twenty-six sentencings per week, meeting twice and sometimes thrice weekly, making it for a time one of the busiest and best-documented courts in all of England.[16]

These remarkable records, which have survived for more than four hundred fifty years, are now held outside London in the archives of Bethlem Royal Hospital, within the small museum that accompanies a working psychiatric facility, its secured yards encircled by razor wire.[17] Only in the past twenty years have

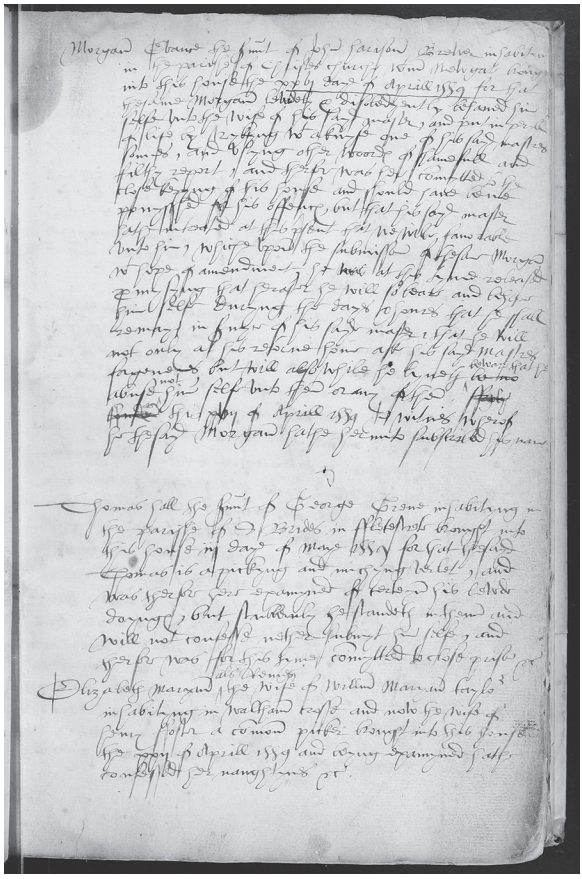


Figure 1. BCB-01, fol. 1 / 14. The first surviving entry in Bridewell's dedicated court minutes, from 1559: Morgan Evans signs his "submission" with his mark "X" and is released "upon hope of amendment." By permission of Bethlem Museum of the Mind.

digital images of the manuscripts been available online. Only in recent decades have scholars including Paul Griffiths and Duncan Salkeld undertaken systematic studies of Bridewell's court minute-books.[18] No extensive transcriptions have been published.[19] Perhaps due to the lack of widely available transcriptions, Bridewell's volumes of information have not been absorbed as fully or as uniformly across the fields of early modern scholarship as one might expect. No book-length study of the house of correction from the perspective of literary or cultural history has ever appeared, despite prior attention, especially among feminist scholars and at the height of new historicism.[20]

Houses of Correction therefore pursues questions that have only become more pressing in an age of mass incarceration and after the emergence of carceral studies or critical prison studies as interdisciplinary fields of inquiry.[21] Did

Europe's first house of correction live up to its promise to create more "proffitable members in the commonwealth"?[22] How should we understand the relationship between theory and practice for a humanist reformer such as Grafton, considering the evidence of the court minutes and the individualized sentences "M[aster] Grafton" handed down?[23] How will our understanding of the house of correction change if we take the practical and intellectual influences of humanist culture more seriously? How does the history of humanism change if we include the house of correction and its archives from the start? To address such questions, this book focuses on roughly a single century, beginning with London's Bridewell in the 1550s and continuing through the emergence of organizations once called *ergastula literaria* or "Literary worke-houses" in operation between 1640 and 1660.[24] Over the course of their first hundred years, houses of correction and workhouses differentiated themselves from England's many other prisons, gaols, and dungeons by their new efforts to discipline the poor, especially through hard labor, vocational training, and even basic education for younger apprentices. Although traditional schooling was initially the charge of Bridewell's sister institution Christ's Hospital, by 1631 their shared board of governors had agreed to hire a schoolmaster "who shall teach" the youngest inmates at the house of correction "to read and write" as well.[25] Two decades later, Bridewell's governors sought to extend equal efforts to "educating Girles," first seeking out "what roomes may bee fit . . . for keepinge [and] educatinge Girles wi[thin] this Hospitall in like manner as boyes are kept [and] educated."[26] Meanwhile, in London's new workhouses of the 1650s, two hours per day were set aside for laborers "to learn to read and write."[27]

To a certain extent, this book seeks to understand the house of correction as it would have appeared to Richard Grafton or his peers, when the governors agreed to meet "On Mondayes at Christes hospitall" and "On wedynnsdayes at Bridewell": as simply another one of the institutional contexts in which the culture of civic and Christian humanism was enacted, comparable both then and now with the rest of the hospitals but also the petty schools, grammar schools, print shops, and other sites scholars have since considered more essential to the history of humanist culture.[28] At the same time, this book seeks to integrate these carceral institutions into existing scholarship on the relationship between humanist theory and practice that regularly critiques the violence and ideological complicities of the Tudor schoolroom, but has excluded houses of correction, or "houses of Instruction or Correction" as they were sometimes called.[29] In Richard Halpern's influential reading of the Tudor grammar schools as instruments of a Marxist and Foucauldian "accumulation of men" that "complemented and

reinforced the accumulation of capital," houses of correction were dismissed as "failed experiments," not coherent or effective or perhaps not subtle enough to merit the critical attention devoted to the grammar schools.[30] This misconception still lingers. "An unspoken assumption persists that reforming wrongdoers was a low priority in early modern times," Griffiths has recently commented, when in fact "it was quite the reverse."[31]

Not unlike most prisons and correctional facilities to this day, where educational programs exist at cross-purposes with exploitative labor practices, where humane ideas of rehabilitation compete with dehumanizing tactics, and where recurring scandals over corruption, abuse, and recidivism are regularly reabsorbed in cycles of reform, England's historical houses of correction contained seemingly impossible contradictions. Houses of correction and early workhouses were undeniably carceral institutions, built for exploitation and certain to abuse their power—yet they were also Christian and particularly humanist institutions, imbued with "utopian" potential and driven by the "hope of amendment" for every individual, here, in this life.[32] England's houses of correction were part of the transition to capitalism, aimed at controlling the poor displaced into urban centers by enclosures and the rationalization of agrarian estates, and they were part of the Reformation, aimed at replacing the social functions of the monasteries and ecclesiastical courts; although historians debate the limits of both those explanations.[33] Humanist reforms have in fact been considered the least refutable of the interrelated causes behind the rise of comparable institutions across early modern Europe more generally, even in disparate confessional, economic, and demographic contexts—and yet the resulting, ongoing relationship between humanist culture and these experimental carceral institutions has remained curiously unexamined.[34] That relationship helps explain some of the house of correction's most glaring contradictions, such as the presence of the relatively progressive elements of its agenda, including efforts to broaden access to basic literacy and vocational training, alongside its seemingly regressive practices, such as the continued use of corporal punishment, equally familiar in the humanist schoolroom.

Due partly to these real ambivalences and partly to methodological differences, scholarly attention to England's houses of correction continues to vary. Although early modern houses of correction were overlooked by Foucault, historians of punishment have long agreed that these were some of the first prisons anywhere in Europe to introduce variable sentences of work-training as punishments for minor crimes, making London's Bridewell arguably the "first" ("earliest . . ." "most important . . .") use of a carceral institution for "coercive

education" before the rise of the penitentiary.[35] More recently, literary scholars have advanced new accounts of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century carceral institutions by focusing attention on the historical implications of the period's particularly rich archive of prison writing as well as the transhistorical reach of the genre itself. Innovative work by Ruth Ahnert, Andrea Brady, Molly Murray, and Rivkah Zim has reconceptualized the noted heterogeneity of early modern prisons—their surprising porousness, their variety of purpose from policing debt to political persecution, their central role in intellectual and cultural production—as enduring features of carceral systems more generally, providing new connections between prison and society, past and present.[36] Yet these recent studies also leave aside what were arguably England's most proleptically modern carceral institutions—houses of correction—where, despite efforts at "coercive education," few literary documents were produced.[37] With the exception of the petition of Mary Overton and the memoirs and poetry of Thomas Ellwood, discussed in the chapters ahead, vanishingly few accounts written from the perspective of those disciplined at the house of correction in the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries have survived.

This book seeks to recognize the house of correction's contradictions while drawing together interdisciplinary methods to reassert the institution's relevance alongside the other early modern prisons that literary scholars have come to recognize as "site[s] of culture" to be "considered alongside the court and the university" as centers of "significant textual, and literary, production," as Murray has written.[38] The house of correction's cultural impact rivaled better-known sites of incarceration such as the Tower of London, Newgate, or the Fleet, even though Bridewell's laborers produced more nails, yarn, pins, or perhaps even "Tennis balles" than they ever did tracts or treatises or poems from confinement.[39] Whereas archival gaps and silences, corruption scandals, stage satires, and open resistance in the form of riots, lawsuits, and parliamentary debates have in the past been used to discredit houses of correction, largely by dissociating them from (and thus implicitly absolving) humanist principles and culture, this book treats these controversies as evidence of the existential concerns raised by the house of correction's position *within* humanist culture. For better and for worse, the features that were meant to distinguish bridewells, houses of correction, and early workhouses from England's other prisons and jails—their emphasis on work-training and shorter sentences, and their rhetorical contention that any individual, disciplined properly, might acquire self-discipline—made these carceral institutions into essential contexts for understanding the culture of early modern humanism.

Carceral Humanism

Carceral humanism, "a logic that sustains and expands the carceral state through appeals to its benevolence," is one term scholars including James Kilgore and Judah Schept have used to describe this phenomenon in the present day.[40] In early modern England, houses of correction were experimenting with an analogous logic by attempting to apply the ideals and strategies of civic and Christian humanism—a belief in the human capacity for moral action based on free will, instantiated in pedagogical programs meant to train more virtuous, Protestant citizens—to an expanding circle of subjects, including the poorest of the poor, through an expanding network of carceral institutions, including hospitals, houses of correction, and workhouses. The framework of carceral humanism fits squarely with the conventional historical understanding of these institutions as well the common definition of "house of correction" as "a building for the confinement and punishment of offenders, esp. with a view to their reformation," as stated in the *Oxford English Dictionary*, which attributes the earliest use of the term to the 1576 statutes that ordered the construction of "Abiding Howses . . . called the Howse or Howses of Correction" in every county in England.[41] Yet this framework also encompasses the new workhouses of the seventeenth century, whose organizers were well aware of and quite strategic about their similarities to houses of correction: "if there were workhouses having schools in them to teach boyes & girls to write & reade & also to teach them some handy trades whereby they may be able to get their liveings . . . to such houses many sufficient people will send their Children to be taught these things, but to a bridewell they will not."[42]

Carceral humanism also aptly describes the structural ambiguities that have always shaped these institutions. London's original Bridewell shared its administration, its administrators (such as Grafton), and often its inmates and apprentices among four sister hospitals, including the schools and orphanage of Christ's Hospital, St. Thomas Hospital for the infirm, as well as the asylum at Bethlem (or "Bedlam") that would later surpass Bridewell in notoriety, and where their shared archives are still housed to this day.[43] Bridewell's specific stated purpose was to set the poor on work or to criminalize poverty, not to raise orphaned children or heal the sick, but its administrative structure has from the very beginning created confusion—perhaps willfully or conveniently—about the charitable and coercive undertakings of these so-called hospitals. Scholars interested in their origins must decide how or whether to single out the history of Bridewell (or Bedlam, or any of the four) for the sake of focus or coherence, and how much

to emphasize their shared structure and goals. This book focuses on Bridewell and to a certain extent its relationship with Christ's Hospital. These two institutions shared many particular, practical overlaps, beyond their administration, although the comparison also heightens contrasts between some aspects of the schools at Christ's Hospital and "coercive education" at Bridewell.[44]

As "a logic that sustains and expands the carceral state through appeals to its benevolence," the trajectory of carceral humanism also helps explain the steady proliferation of houses of correction throughout this period, despite their well-publicized struggles and scandals.[45] Beginning in the 1550s, Bridewell committed four hundred people annually; that number swelled to more than a thousand per year by the 1580s, and doubled again to nearly two thousand imprisonments per year by 1600.[46] London's original became the model for the "Howses of Correction" required to be built across the nation by repeated legislative acts, beginning in 1576 (18 Eliz.c.3), continuing in 1597 (39 Eliz.c.3–5), 1601 (43 Eliz.c.2), 1604 (1 Jac.I.c.6–7), and with concentrated effect in 1610 (7 Jac.1.c.7).[47] One or more

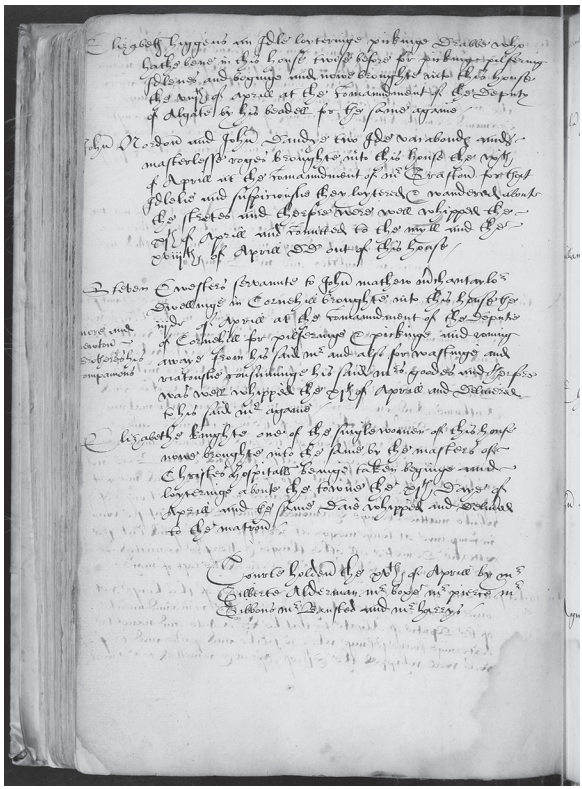


Figure 2. BCB-01, fol. 208v / 445. A court session in April 1562, when John Nordon and John Dandye were brought to Bridewell "at the commandment" of "M[aster] Grafton." By permission of Bethlem Museum of the Mind.

houses of correction, or "bridewells" as they were also called, were soon established in Bristol, Worcester, and Exeter (1577), Winchester and Devizes (1578), Plymouth (1581), Leicester (1584), York and Bury (1586), Reading (1590), Coventry (1596), Shropshire (1598), Nottinghamshire and Yorkshire (1611), Derbyshire (1614), Cheshire and Middlesex (1615), Stafford (1617), Lancashire (1620), and Durham (1623); four houses of correction were created in each of Devon and Norfolk counties, seven in Hertfordshire by the 1620s, three in Warwickshire by 1635, and seven in Sussex by 1642.[48] But while houses of correction expanded, this was hardly a result or sign of their success: Financial difficulties, recidivism, and public outcry were nearly as common. Such a paradoxical pattern will be familiar to critics of carceral humanism today (or to readers of *Discipline and Punish*), who have often pointed out how prison systems continue to fail upward and outward through cycles of reform.[49]

At the origin of this cycle stood Bridewell itself, whose own court minute-books provide some of the most unsparing accounts. In 1562, for example, the court's scribe records the names, accusations, and punishments accorded to each individual, in ways that mostly typified Bridewell's practices over the decades to come. In the early spring of that year, two men were hauled before the court on the orders of "M[aster] Grafton":

> John Parker and William Thomas brought into this house the
> [26]th Daie of marche at the commandment of
> M[aster] Grafton for that they Idle vacabond knaves
> go straglinge aboute the stretes sekinge where to
> pilfer and pinke and therefore committed to the myll
> to labour Delivery the [8]th of Aprill[.][50]

For their suspicious "straglinge" the pair were deemed "Idle" vagabonds, in the lexicon Bridewell shared with the moral panics that followed rural laborers into urban centers during the transition to capitalism. Parker and Thomas were sentenced to turn the mill for their "labour" until their delivery on April 8. To "pinke" might suggest punching holes (insinuating violence) or cutting a purse.[51] A few days later in April 1562:

> John Nordon and John Dandye two Idle vacabonde and
> masterlesse roges broughte into this house the [9]th
> of Aprill at the comanndment of m[aster] Grafton for that
> Idlelie and suspiciouslie they loytered [and] wandered about

> the streates and therfore were well whipped the
> [11]th of Aprill and comitted to the myll and the
> [18]th of Aprill DD out of this house[.][52]

Caught loitering and unemployed, the two "masterlesse" men were deemed rogues by Grafton, therefore "well whipped" and sentenced to turn the mill in the house of correction for a week, before being delivered ("DD") "out of this house" on the eighteenth.[53] At the same session and on the same page, an entry about a woman named Elizabeth Higgins betrays a tone of exasperation:

> Elizabeth higgins an Idle loyteringe pinkinge Drabbe who
> hathe bene in this house twice before for pinking pilfering
> Idlenes and beginge and nowe broughte into this house
> the [8]th of Aprill at the comandment of the Deputy
> of Algate by his beadell for the same againe[.][54]

Higgins was accused of prostitution and soliciting, despite having "twice before" been sentenced in Bridewell, and was written up "for the same againe."[55] Higgins's case is an example of what the court books often call "old guests," "notorious guests" or "old customers," whose recidivism was cause for increased concern and harsher treatment.[56] Her entry is also an example of the copious invective that often takes the place of any witnesses or testimony beyond the "commandment" of a beadle or deputy.[57]

Bridewell's records made no attempt or saw no reason to hide the institution's abuses and prejudices against women and the poor. In many ways, the house of correction had little to do with justice at all. Bridewell's primary charge was not to investigate the most violent crimes such as murder but rather to discipline anything the governors considered infractions of the social order, such as loitering, homelessness, drunkenness, sex work—the latter of which particularly commanded the governors' and the public's attention, then and now.[58] And yet Bridewell's tactics also marked a real departure from what had come before. Bridewell's court minutes, for all their idiosyncrasies, consistently demonstrate why this institution is almost "universally regarded" as a turning point in the history of punishment.[59] Instead of using imprisonment primarily as detention (before a trial, for example) or to incapacitate some while deterring others through fear, the house of correction or "house of Labours" emphasized forcing the so-called idle to take up more profitable lives.[60] There were three categories of offender and punishment outlined in Bridewell's 1557 "Ordinances and rules":

"vagabonds" (such as Parker, Thomas, Nordon, or Dandye) were to be sent to the "mill-house" or the "bake-house"; the "idle" who might yet be "called out of that hateful life of idleness" (potentially also Parker, Thomas, Nordon, or Dandye) might become apprentices in the "nail-house"; while "lewd women" (such as Higgens) would be set to work in the "wool-house," "yarn-house," or "spinning-house" under the direction of their matron.[61] These categories and tasks remained roughly the same in the century to come. Although Bridewell's hard labors, such as turning the mill or beating hemp, were painful and degrading, its shorter sentences and programs for skilled work-training were not structurally misaligned with its stated goals of reintroducing "proffitable members in the common wealthe."[62] Even the brutality of the whipping post was ostensibly justified by the aim of "train[ing] thoughts and emotions," Griffiths points out, whether in the house of correction, the public square, or the Tudor schoolroom.[63] Meanwhile the house of correction's public advocates decried the mass-hangings threatened against thieves and vagabonds in ancient statutes. Against this status quo, they promoted the comprehensive approach of their new institutions, with their variable sentences and chance at a new life, as meaningful reforms.

Bridewell's rhetorical justifications, training programs, and coordination with its sister hospitals epitomized early modern carceral humanism. More than four centuries before the school-to-prison pipeline became a topic of regular debate, Bridewell's alliance with the school and orphanage of Christ's Hospital in particular was well established: "These houses or hospitals . . . are so linked together," according to the 1557 ordinances, "the one may not be without the other."[64] "The child brought up in Christ's hospital, if he were of good capacity" ought to be "trained in learning," but "if he were lewd and idle, then to be brought to Bridewell" for harsher discipline, and yet both with the same goal, to "commit him to some one occupation or other," according to the 1557 ordinances.[65] Both Bridewell and the schools at Christ's Hospital employed "artmasters" to impart their vocational "arts and occupations," and both taught those lessons through harsh, physical punishments.[66] Humanist pedants such as those employed at Christ's Hospital were at least as famous for their beatings with rods, birch branches, and ferulars as Bridewell's governors were infamous for their whippings at the "cross for correction" or the "post for reformation."[67] And yet, in the 1580s, Bridewell's internal documents describe its efforts to turn the "idle" into more "proffitable" citizens alongside Christ's Hospital's "schooles of writing, reading, siphering and singinge," where a more vocational, vernacular curriculum would include learning "to wright divers kinds of hands," "to sipher and to kepe accounts," as well as "to play upon all sortes of instruments," all as

a means of expanding access to humanist training for children whose families could not afford to sacrifice their labor even to free schools.[68] By 1587, "servants and children both out of Bridewell & Christs Hospital" were being promoted for their "qualities in reading, writing, Grammer, and Musike."[69] By the mid-seventeenth century, "God's house of correction is a school of instruction" had become a preacher's commonplace: "Gods *house of correction,* is his *Schoole of instruction*" or simply: "The House of Correction, is the School of Instruction."[70]

At the same time, these institutions showed no hesitation in using individuals as the means to their ends, and they were more than willing to coerce the changes they sought, not only through the pain and fear of their whippings but through the immiseration of their grueling tasks. Even the most "willfull" ought to be "constrained to worke in the house of correction, that by applying labour and punishment of their bodies, their froward natures may be bridled, their evill minds may be bettered," according to one handbook.[71] Thomas Ellwood described Bridewell's "manner of Whipping" with twigs of holly that "bend almost like Thongs, and lap round the Body" to "tear the Skin and Flesh, and give extream Pain."[72] Meanwhile there were elements of coercion and carceral confinement at the schools and orphanage of Christ's Hospital, as well, where the "porters" were on constant guard lest their wards and students should "steale oute" of the institution; indeed, "a nomber" of the children had to be "punished before they coulde be brought to abide within the boundes" of their seemingly charitable school.[73]

The constant coordination between Bridewell and Christ's Hospital, flagship institutions of early modern London, might prompt a reconsideration of the relationship between schools and houses of correction more generally, as well as the uneven application of the interpretive traditions in which these institutions have figured. On the one hand, it would appear that an institution such as Christ's Hospital could fit with Marx's description of houses of correction as a means by which displaced laborers and their families, first "forcibly expropriated from the soil, driven from their homes" and "turned into vagabonds" during enclosures and the rationalization of agrarian estates were then forced into "accepting the discipline" that would lead to a system of wage labor.[74] On the other hand, a Foucauldian reading applies in the context of houses of correction and early workhouses, as well, despite Foucault's own dismissals: These institutions did not actually need to succeed in their stated goals of reform to instead serve a perverse purpose for the social order by dividing the poor against themselves through criminalization and the hardening of criminalized identities, carried out on the basis of dubious distinctions about corrigibility and the

"hope for amendment" that also justified the institution's own perpetuation.[75] The recidivism that runs through Bridewell's court books might in that way have been as much a feature as flaw. When the prison contains both "programmes for correcting delinquency and mechanisms that reinforce delinquency," as Foucault pointedly asked, "is not the supposed failure part of the functioning?"[76]

Richard Grafton's own secretary, John Howes, acknowledged as much in his manuscript chronicles of Bridewell's early years, written for the governors in 1582 and 1587, although this insight is partly the result of his dialogic form. Howes's colloquy reshapes its historical information in the manner of the formal *controversiae* that arose from humanist schoolrooms to become the defining intellectual habit of their age, but also what Joel Altman called "the moral culture of ambivalence."[77] "You have tolde a very good tale and you have yelded greate reason of your speache," skeptical Dignity conceded to Duty as they recount the house of correction's early years, although certain concerns had arisen.[78] "The name of Bridewell is in the eares of the people so odious" that it threatens to "killeth the creadit forever," Dignity complained.[79] Within thirty years of its founding, Bridewell's reputation was so bad that Londoners were hesitating to hire a servant or apprentice whose name had "tasted of that soile."[80] Despite this, "it is not the punishement which they receave that I finde faulte withal," Dignity avers, but rather "it is the place, which was ordained only for Roges and common strumpetts; it was not meant that any honest soldier or servingman having any good qualetie should be broughte to Bridewell, where nothing is to be learned but lewdeness amoungst that generacion."[81] What if there really was nothing "to be learned" in the house of correction?[82] Or what if "lewdeness" rather than godliness were just as likely to be generated?[83]

Although Dignity maintains that the problem lies not with the idea of using punishment as a "coercive education" but with the administration of Bridewell as it stands, the issue brings up deeper concerns. Rebecca Bushnell has identified tensions between efforts to "completely mold" the "body, mind, and soul" and awareness of individual limits as crucial ones for the theory and practice of renaissance humanism: If each student or subject were "seen as different and resistant at some point to the teacher's shaping hand . . . what were the implications of that belief?"[84] Bridewell's failures seem to have made "Dignity" and "Duty" aware of the antihumanist inverse of their faith in the malleability and potential for improvement of any individual, given an education and proper training, by causing them to recognize the possibility for negative forms of social determination, including the possibility that their own prison was the problem. Yet the dialogue's self-doubt also reminds readers of the humanist intellectual

culture that shaped the administration and customs of Bridewell and Christ's Hospital, even or especially when those institutions were forced to recognize in themselves the inversions of humanism's most closely held ideals.

It is tempting to think that these ethical failures were produced in the enduring gap between theory and practice more than in the blurred distinctions between one institution and another. Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine have cautioned us to keep in view "the gap between strongly held ideals and the reality which is educational practice" for early modern humanists, and that, for postmodern society, might even have become the gap between "*humanism*—the zealous faith in an ideal" and "the *humanities*," too easily reduced to "a curriculum training a social élite to fulfill its predetermined role."[85] But if we also keep the history of carceral practice in view, or if we give equal consideration to the history of humanist efforts aimed at fitting not elites but the poorest of the poor into determinable social roles, what reveals itself is a contradiction not so much between theory and practice or between one institution and another but rather between the competing impulses of carceral humanism and antihumanism.[86]

Both these logics were at work in the distinctions the house of correction inscribed daily in the bodies and lives of the poor by distinguishing those amenable to reform, improvement, and educational investment for future employment from those whose "idleness" was made to serve its inverse purpose in the distractions of sensationalized and essentialized "sturdy" beggars or "hardened" criminals.[87] Both these processes were an ongoing, central function of the culture of civic and Christian humanism, not an unfortunate side-effect or unforeseen consequence. Both these processes were abetting reformation and a changing economic order with a new series of class structures—but they were also helping to lay the foundation for a related carceral paradigm that would come to exert a logic of its own. Although it is Foucault's critiques of individuation and proliferating institutional power that have dominated discussions of that carceral paradigm in the humanities, its underlying logic and telos was perhaps best described by John Rawls.[88] These were early forms of what Rawls called not punishment but "telishment": a penology whose justifications are grounded more in their ambivalent potential for social engineering than in the retribution for wrongdoing that punishment ought to constitute; a penology based more on its forward-looking or even "benevolent" teleology than in its response to actual harms.[89] Institutions of telishment or carceral humanism do not administer actual justice or impose consequences for real wrongs; instead they function to determine or redetermine a social order.[90] No wonder many of the infractions that Bridewell criminalized were not really wrongs: having sex, being a woman, being unhoused or unemployed.

Given the competing impulses of both carceral humanism and antihumanism, it should be no surprise that "prevention" and "preventive justice" had already become key terms for the reformers who revived flagging houses of correction as workhouses and *ergastula literaria* in the seventeenth century. "It is not simply the present suppression and setting to work of idle Vagrants and Beggers," announced the London Corporation for the Poor in the documents surrounding the foundation of their workhouses in the 1650s; it is "for the prevention thereof for the future."[91] "It is the observation of the wise Statists, That those offences are often committed which are often punished," noted one of Samuel Hartlib's proposals, "and therefore to the well ordering of a common wealth they rather call for preventing then punishing."[92] "Preventive justice is the best," declared a memo on another proposal: "the right end of this design" is to "prevent the punishment" of those "such as the Lawes of this kingdome have thought fitt for the good of the Common wealth to Punish."[93] The discourse of prevention typifies the humanist and antihumanist tendencies that go hand in hand in the history of England's houses of correction and early workhouses. In one regard, preventive policies imply investment in schools and vocational programs to equip individuals with the means to improve their own conditions within a given socioeconomic system; in another regard, preventive policies can imply carceral tactics deployed with little concern for individual agency at all, based on and reinforcing socially determined categories rather than a shared capacity for change.

The Culture of Correction

In *The Culture of Correction in Renaissance Europe*, Anthony Grafton suggests that humanism's emphasis on "linguistic and textual precision" might indeed have been connected to "new forms of work discipline," but does not pursue the point.[94] This book takes Grafton's suggestion seriously, from both a practical and a philosophical standpoint. Adopting and adapting Grafton's phrase, the chapters ahead will consider the ways that humanist language practices influenced not only meanings or connotations but normative positions and dispositions, including the mind's approach to its own arguments (with reasons on both sides), the body's approach to a text (with pen and ink in hand), an administrator's approach to their work (with documents to index and track individuals), even the soul's approach to repentance (in the work to be done here and now). These habits of acculturation constituted the second nature of Christian and

civic humanism; they provided a key normative framework for the coercive institutional experiments that are the primary focus of this book. At the same time, *Houses of Correction* distinguishes coercive from normative relationships. Whereas carceral humanism refers to the direct application and co-opting of humanist arguments and practices in coercive settings, the culture of correction indicates those secondary and tertiary norms and habits inculcated by humanist pedagogy and textual practices, such as new theories of vocational language learning or the ways that humanist teachers and books trained their students and readers to act as their own correctors. One was the physical force that subtended coercion, while the other was merely a set of cultural norms. Yet both had a hand in shaping the ideas and practices described in this book.

Both frameworks also draw upon Foucault. Whereas the history of carceral humanism undoubtedly concerns the expected aspects of Foucault's critiques of the soul or humanist individualism as instruments of social control, the culture of correction engages his more ambivalent, final turn toward the role of textual culture in Greco-Roman ethics of the late classical period, where linguistic objects and practices of objectification, such as diaries, epistles, *hupomnēmata* or commonplace books, but also rhetoric and pedagogy, were emphasized as means of ethical and epistemological self-making.[95] In this later phase Foucault was following a path already well-trodden by renaissance humanists who themselves returned to many of the same sources, especially Seneca, Stoic texts, Plutarch. Foucault's efforts to invent (in the Renaissance's rhetorical sense of finding out or uncovering) noncoercive grounds for normativity, and thus an ethics before politics, often centered upon *ethopoeia*, a term that entered English in the mid-sixteenth century as a figure of rhetoric.[96] Foucault used ethopoeia to delineate linguistic and epistemic forms whose "functions . . . can produce *ēthos*."[97] Ethopoeia or "useful knowledge" was for Foucault a feature of linguistic technologies such as mnemonic and reflective diaries, commonplace books, or as I suggest Bridewell's court minute-books, "in which human life is at stake," a "relational mode" that is "capable of producing a change in the subject's mode of being."[98]

The culture of correction united textual methods of ethos-making or what Foucault called ethopoeia with the practical forms of knowledge promoted by civic humanism. Richard Grafton's edition of Plutarch's *Preceptes* extols the necessity of marrying intellectual knowledge into physical actions or "labours": "We should neither exercise the bodye without the minde, nor the mind without the bodye," but rather make both "partake of the laboures" that either undertakes, intellectual and physical.[99] Such an approach might lead to both "the knowledge of vertue" and to harmonizing "[the] profit of speaking and doing."[100] Grafton's

edition of *The Ethiques of Aristotle* emphasizes not merely instruction in moral virtue but its enactment as *phronesis*, translated clumsily but perhaps tellingly as "work": "In vertue, knowledge sufficeth not, without worke: for to knowe withoute worke it availeth not."[101] Such ideas shaped practices in the humanist schoolroom but also in the workhouse or the "house of Labours," as Howes called it.[102] But importantly, both for later Foucault and renaissance humanists he often critiqued, this "relational" model of knowledge, which involves "human life" in "producing a change in the subject's . . . being" took place not primarily or originally in institutional or carceral settings but in textual and linguistic practices whose material forms involve physical action, including aspects of pedagogy (listening and transcribing), reading (notetaking, indexing, commonplacing, rereading, reactivating), and writing (especially meditations, diaries, notebooks, correspondences, record keeping), whereby information or wisdom might be rendered "'Near at hand,' not just in the sense that one be able to recall them to consciousness, but that one should be able to use them . . . in action."[103]

The culture of correction is understood yet overlooked with each repetition of the word to this day. Correction still means "the action of . . . setting right; substitution of what is right for what is erroneous," a borrowing into French and Anglo-Norman from the Latin *corrigere*, "to make straight, set right, reform, amend" (from *cor-* or *co-*, "together," and *regere*, "to lead straight, direct").[104] Throughout the classical, postclassical, and early modern periods, correction and its precursors retained two subsets of meanings that remain familiar, distinguished by their objects: texts or persons, the amendment "of a book" as in "pointing out or marking of errors (in order to their removal)," especially "in a literary work; an emendation" but also "the correcting (of a person) for faults of character or conduct; reprehension, rebuke, reproof" or "the correcting (of a person) by disciplinary punishment; chastisement . . . specifically with a view to amendment."[105] This latter was the sense in which Bridewell's court minutes used "correction" as a euphemism for their whippings. Yet the term also had a third meaning, nearly lost today, which would have been equally familiar to every schoolboy in early modern England.

Correction was a figure of rhetoric. The classical Latin *correctio* meant not only "an amendment, improvement, correction" but "especially, as a rhetorical figure, the recalling of a word in order to use a stronger or more significant one in its place."[106] Thomas Wilson, whose *Art of rhetorique* was printed by Richard Grafton in 1553 (in the same year he began to oversee activities at Bridewell), defined the device "Correcion" or "Correctio" as "when we alter a woorde or sentence, otherwise then we haue spoken before, purposing therby to augment

the matter, and to make it appere more vehement."[107] "Correction is, whiche taketh away that that is spoken, and putteth a more meter thyng in his place," according to Richard Sherry's *A Treatise of the figures of grammar and rhetoric* (1577); "it behooveth that the latter words be mightier than the former," added Henry Peacham's *Garden of Eloquence* (1577), so that, according to George Puttenham's *Art of English Poesy* (1589), "the speaker seems to reform that was said."[108] Wilson's (and Grafton's) *Arte of rhetorique*, which Brian Cummings points out gave a "professedly protestant" bent to its text, stuck close to Cicero for the example of correction: "We have broughe before you my Lordes, into this place of judgement, not a thefe, but an extorcioner and violent robber, not an adoulterer, but a ravisher of maides, not a stealer of churche goodes, but an errant traitor, bothe to God and all godlinesse: not a common ruffin, but a moste cruel cut throte."[109] Correction was a processual pattern for retracting one claim only to make a stronger one, moving one step back to move two steps ahead. Not coincidentally, handbook examples usually involve a shaming accusation of petty crime, such as public drunkenness, ratcheted up for increasing impact on the accused and the jury-like audience alike.

The culture of correction drew normative force from its associations with Protestant reforms, whose roots in sacred philology were intertwined with these rhetorical terms. In the vernacular rhetorical tradition, correction or *correctio* was also synonymous with the Greek device *metanoia,* a change of mind, coming to one's senses or turning back. Peacham places correction alongside "metania" [*sic*], claiming that "metania" is "comprehended under correction."[110] The classical precedent is closer to *eparnorthosis*, "in which a word is recalled, in order to substitute a more correct or stronger term"; indeed, "Epanorthrosis is correction, when some thing is called backe that went before," according to Dudley Fenner's *Artes of logike and rhetorike* (1584).[111] Yet to this day, the *Oxford English Dictionary* locates rhetorical correction under *metanoia* instead: "The act or process of changing one's mind (in quot. 1577, as a rhetorical device)," pointing to Peacham, even before denoting the term's much better-known associations in Christian culture: "penitence, repentance; reorientation of one's way of life, spiritual conversion."[112] "The Figure of Correction" could also be known as "the Figure of Repentance," according to Puttenham.[113] These were connections of no small significance to early modern thinkers, for the Greek *metanoia*, newly translated as "repentance" rather than "penitence" or "penance," had constituted one of the most consequential textual cruxes in the history of the reformation.

Correcting metanoia was a detail in sacred philology that had grown to outsized importance for the reformation's critique of indulgences and thereby of

the church's institutional reach. In the early sixteenth century, Erasmus issued a scriptural emendation concerning Matthew 3:2, which had been translated by Jerome's Latin Vulgate since the fourth century as "Do penance: for the kingdom of heaven is at hand," and had become a crucial scriptural basis for the medieval sacraments of penance. Returning *ad fontes*, Erasmus reexamined the ancient Greek underlying the Vulgate, and in the annotations to his new translation changed *poenitentiam agite* or "do penance" to *poeniteat vos* or "repent"; in the 1519 edition he went a step further, substituting *resipiscite* or "come to your senses," before returning in 1522 to "repent" with the addition *prioris vitae* or "of your former life."[114] Erasmus's case for the change depended upon the meaning of the Greek *metanoein* or *metanoia*: "People think that *poenitentiam agite* means to wash away one's sins with some prescribed penalty . . . yet *metanoia* is derived from *metanoein,* that is, to come to one's senses afterwards—when someone who has sinned, finally, after the fact, recognizes his own error."[115] The consequences of retranslating this passage were greatly magnified in disagreements over the sacraments of penance, which had come to include the granting of indulgences for good works. Luther jumped on the implications: "I learned that this word (*poenitentia*) means *metanoia* in Greek which derived from *meta* and *noun,* ie 'afterwards' and 'mind,' so that *poenitentia* or *metanoia* means coming to one's senses. . . . The emphasis on the works of penance had come from the misleading [Vulgate] translation."[116] Reformed penitence should be *re*-pentance, bringing the subject back to their senses or changing their minds (metanoia), rather than carrying out the proscriptions of the medieval church.[117]

In England, vernacular scriptures and liturgy followed suit. Richard Grafton's famous printed editions, such as the first authorized English Bible, known as the Great Bible (1537 onward), and stand-alone New Testament (1540), translated Matthew 3:2 as "Repent of the life that is past, for the kingdome of heaven is at hande."[118] It is not so surprising then that correction, "the Figure of Repentance," also came to name the philosophy of punishment for lay institutions arising during the English Reformation, partly to replace the social functions of the monasteries and partly to handle low-level infractions of morality or vice previously adjudicated by ecclesiastical courts.[119] Christ's Hospital and the "house of reformation," as Bridewell was sometimes called, were understood as direct, institutional inheritors of many of the reformation's transformations to ritual and social life.[120] The threat of purgatory, which had served the church's "pedagogic and corrective intentions," and constantly been imagined as a "prison house" for the soul, or "God's prison," or the "torture-house" where penance would be extracted after life to the exact degree that it had not been

accomplished on earth, was abolished and displaced, not only into the Protestant ethic of working in a vocation now and soon, but into lay institutions such as the houses of correction: This life became the "prison house" for the soul, or rather, according to one seventeenth-century gloss on the Book of Proverbs, this worldly life "is their house of correction: not in hell."[121] "This world is *Gods* house of correction for His *Children*," another book of meditations enjoined.[122]

The cultural norm that became correction was reinforced by reformed theories of atonement, in particular. Christ, "by Sacrifice of himself . . . should take away the sinnes" of "we all" who "offende in many things," according to Grafton's forty-two articles, printed in the same year he began to oversee the renovations at Bridewell.[123] This version of atonement, called the forensic or penal substitution theory, which would come to be shared by Anglicanism along with many independent schisms and sects, stresses that mankind's salvation was achieved through Christ's substitution on the cross: Christ bore the penalty God as judge imposed on Adam and Eve and humankind after the Fall; Christ came into life and took mankind's penalty in his own flesh for the salvation of his followers and so that they might live in accordance with his teachings. Christ himself became "the greatest thief, murderer, adulterer, robber, desecrator . . . there has ever been anywhere in the world" by bearing the sins of all mankind "upon his body, in order to make satisfaction for them with his own blood," according to Luther.[124] While the connection between the passion, Christian martyrdom, and penitential culture is well known and has been thoroughly studied in the context of incarceration and confinement across the centuries, it is worth nothing that this thinking was often applied to the correctional labors of the house of correction or the workhouse, as well. "Blessed Jesus" himself endured his own embodiment not as the man of sorrows but as "a workhouse of sufferings and infirmities for us," one sermon advised.[125] Christ had become the object of punishment for a crime in which all early modern Christians were the subject, while this life of labor became the proving ground for repentance; this life "is their house of correction: not in hell," or "*this world* is Gods house of correction for his children," in which earthly labors align with those of Adam and Eve after the Fall.[126]

Significantly for the purposes of this study, Christian and civic humanism applied these religious and moral valences to the culture of textual correction, as well. In the early modern period, scribal and textual correction did not refer only to those practices we tend to think of today, such as fixing errors or revising a work closer to a singular intention, but rather involved a host of ethos-shaping changes to a reader's access and experience, such as creating indexes, marginal indexes, or markers for commonplacing; writing supplements, prefaces, or continuations;

as well as collating those distinctive *errata* lists, which interpellate their readers as correctors.[127] Correction could include "radical rewriting and the insertion of full-scale supplements" as well as "a collaborative vision of authorship," Anthony Grafton has argued.[128] When title pages announced "corrected" or "newly corrected" texts, they were advertising not only fewer typos, more authority, or a version closer to perfection, but rather many other kinds of practical changes and material improvements that might make the edition more useful, more valuable, and distinguish it from those that had come before.[129] The practices associated with a corrector were therefore much more broad than we might assume. "The corrector—the maker of indexes, the verifier of texts, the man of many proofreadings—seems to stand, more generally, for something like a new culture," Grafton comments.[130]

This "new culture" of correction provided literal and physical dimensions to the normative and moral potential with which Christian humanism always imbued textual undertakings.[131] Thomas Wilson's *The rule of reason*, printed by Richard Grafton in 1551, includes "An admonition to the reader for faultes escaped in the Printing," which implores its addressee ("most humbly and harteley I desire thee") to "reade this worke" and where imperfection is found, to set to it "thy amending hande."[132] Invocations to the reader as corrector, such as this request that readers see themselves in the synecdoche of their own "amending hande," epitomize the renaissance of what Foucault called *ethopoeia*, as well as the particular *habitus* underlying humanist culture, or what Pierre Bourdieu describes as an "immanent" normativity, "laid down in each agent by his earliest upbringing," which then becomes "the precondition . . . for practices of coordination, since the corrections and adjustments the agents themselves carry out presuppose . . . a common code."[133] The wider implications of civic and Christian humanism's "common code" might easily go unnoticed along with the errata lists and dedicatory epistles that populate the frontmatter of early modern books, but the apostrophes of these commercial paratexts were significant.[134] They sell themselves and their readers on a shared process of ethos-making that transfers the interpretive and potentially ethical responsibilities of correction—or sacred metanoia, changing your mind—into the user's own hands.

Making correction, readers and book-users continued what Halpern called "an internalized and self-regulated code of behavior" in a daily way, after schooling had finished and below the threshold of theological signification, and yet carrying these associations into different, sometimes creative directions.[135] In his abridgments of the *Chronicles* "newly and diligently corrected" in 1570, for another example, Richard Grafton addresses "the gentle Reader," asking that

"where he shall finde me to have committed any errour, that there he will gently interpret mee, or amende the same."[136] Errata lists prompted readers to think and act not only as moral or spiritual agents but as subjects in textual interpretation and amendment, to use Grafton's terms; these processes were at once more literal and more significant than we might assume. "For humiane, read humane" at "E4.page.1.line.21," according to Henry Olney's printing of Sidney's *An apology for poetry*; "for fruitless, read fruitfull" ("D.3.page.1.line.12") and so on.[137] Errata lists were "acts of metaphor," Adam Smyth points out: "instead of *this,* read *that*."[138] Readers of *Paradise Lost* in post-1669 printings of its first 1667 edition could hardly have encountered the first line of the poem ("OF Mans First Disobedience . . .") without noticing the list of errata on the facing page, which directed the reader into the text with their tasks in hand: "Other literal faults the Reader of himself may Correct."[139]

The culture of correction, with its "literal" tasks, directly prompted "the Reader of himself" to inhabit that humanist, active, mutually constitutive mode of reading so often described by scholars including Anthony Grafton, Lisa Jardine, and Ann Blair; at the same time these tasks were material inducements toward rhetorical dynamics of the kind studied by Stanley Fish, among many others.[140] Correction, in these seemingly insignificant pieces of hands-on work or manners, was a process of improvement directed toward the individual as well as the larger, pedagogical, and ethos-making enterprise of humanism itself, and thus engaged in the commercial and cultural project of consolidating both the English vernacular and the Protestant common weal—even while the activities that proceeded "under correction" were more open-ended than we might assume.[141] The physical task of correction also left its marks in the pages and the margins of early modern books, including many examined in the chapters ahead.

Literary writers and playwrights eagerly positioned their own arts as part of the culture of correction, even while they criticized early modern carceral humanism. Often they did so by using metaphors that provoked questions about the extent of the "co-ordination" implied by the shared terms of "correction."[142] In Philip Sidney's *Apology* or *Defence of Poesie*, audiences are credited with identifying the errors of bad characters in need of correction: "No sooner" do such negative examples appear on the stage but the audience "wishes them *in Pistrinum*," in the mill or the workhouse.[143] Sidney's metaphor, which controversially proposes the theater as an ethical proving ground, anticipates the dissent provoked to demonstrate its larger point that "poesie" could occasion that kind of critical thought.[144] Thomas Heywood echoed Sidney in his even more provocative defense of theater-going as an instrument for the "reformation of manners."[145]

One could find "finde no neerer or directer course to plant humanity and manners in the hearts of the multitude then to instruct them" through stage plays, Heywood argued, claiming that the imagination could better show the public "what vices to avoid, what vertues to embrace; what enormities to abandon, what ordinances to observe."[146] Heywood's critics were predictably outraged: "Players assume an unlawfull office to themselves of instruction and correction," Greene charged in his *Refutation of the Apology for Actors*.[147] "God onley gave authority of publique instruction and correction but to two sorts of men, to his Ecclesiastical Ministers, and temporal Magistrates," Greene protested, ending sharply: "hee never instituted a third authority of Players."[148]

And yet the tactic was often repeated, across genres, perhaps most famously in Milton's *Areopagitica*, which premised its arguments for greater freedom of the presses on a similar claim that the responsibility for correcting, censoring, and even punishing books "as malefactors" simply belonged with individuals, post-publication, rather than institutional licensing, pre-publication: "I deny not . . . that it is of the greatest concernment . . . to have a vigilant eye how Bookes demean themselves, as well as men; and thereafter to confine, imprison, and do sharpest justice on them as malefactors."[149] The paradoxical, extended metaphor prompts readers to reconsider "sharpest justice" alongside the textual and spiritual correction they administer.[150] Correction, both literal and metaphorical, increasingly became a means of questioning the limits of humanist ethos-making and pointing out the hypocrisies of its coercive inversion as carceral humanism, despite the purposes of teaching and acculturation, norm-making and norm-mending that literary writers and their apologies and defenses laid claim to. When Shakespeare described an expressive means "to correct correction" itself, the conceit of his sonnet explored every room in the ambiguous house of correction, asking readers to reconsider where real metanoia might be found, whether in the habituation to discipline that seeps into the body, subduing nature "To what it workes in, like the Dyers hand," or in the linguistic counter-work of imagining and inhabiting a social self, for which the ink-stained process of textual correction had become a common metaphor.[151]

Houses of Correction

Bridewell's archives consistently demonstrate why both carceral humanism and the culture of correction ought to be essential to our understanding of these institutions and why these institutional contexts ought to be essential to our

understanding of humanist culture more broadly. The house of correction's ideas and practices alike were influenced by humanist administrative habits and forms, not only in Howes's dialogic manuscripts or Grafton's later chronicles but throughout the court books themselves, whose features continue to shape the ways scholars access and understand their contents. The attendance records for the governors that preface each court session enable readers to follow the overlaps and ethical lapses in Grafton's weekly rounds between Christ's Hospital and Bridewell; the entries themselves, which often appear uneven—for example in those days from 1562 considered earlier, when multiple individuals such as Parker and Thomas, Norton and Dandye, were handled together—nevertheless consistently include entrance dates and deliveries, and were supplemented by a prefatory index, where those examined and punished or delivered out of the house can be tracked in a sort of double-entry bookkeeping to observe their progress and presumably reformation, metanoia or repentance. There are dozens of pages of this alphabetical, tabbed index, written in a secretary hand roughly contemporaneous with the entries themselves, which can be used to find subjects, sometimes on the multiple pages and occasions where they reappear or depart "upon hope of amendment."[152]

"Bridget Abrall" can be found on pages "14. 28. 84. 109. 132," for example, according to the index.[153] On folio page 14 one indeed finds Abrall, "who hath bene often tymes taken and brought into this house," called an "idle" and "common straggler" and "committed to the Work of this house the [25]th of April 1559."[154] In the margin of this entry, the scribe writes: "Discharged upon hope of amendment the 5 of September."[155] The index encourages users to follow Abrall's appearances in the court room and the means devised to reform her ways through "the Work of this house."[156] On October 22, 1559, hardly six weeks after last being released, Abrall was "now again brought into this House" and punished for being "a common idler in the evenynge and the morninge about the stretes commiting any moste shamefull vylany."[157] On March 2, 1559, "Bridget Abrall" was discharged with two other women "upon their repentaunce and hope of amendment."[158] Abrall returns in June 1560, and again in September of that year, but it is her resistance, rather than repentance, that increases. "Bridget Abrall" was brought "into this house for whoredom" several "tymes" already was "once again apprehended the [23] of September 1560 for that she is thought to be one of those common pickers and at this tyme hath stolen ii shirtes, but she will in no wise confesse the fault."[159] Despite refusing to admit her "fault," Abrall was released. Two years later, in April 1561, "Bridget Abrall" was "brought into this house" as she had been "diverse times before."[160]

A case such as Abrall's provides the opposite of evidence that the house of correction was achieving its stated goals, just as Dignity and Duty had worried. Yet at the same time the court book has an ethos-making form, in the index, that reinforces and reveals its concern with specifiable individuals, placing that concern *ad manum*, near at hand. The culture of correction, in this case, allows and even encourages users to measure the failure of carceral humanism, while at the same time the index sifts and attaches information to the individual subject in a way that demonstrates the concerns of civic and Christian humanism in an archive where those concerns are often thought to have been abandoned and over a subject to whom those concerns are not necessarily thought to have applied. To Anthony Grafton's description of the corrector as "the maker of many indexes" who "seems to stand, more generally, for something like a new culture," that same corrector's index would add Bridget Abrall, a subject of those proceedings, whose resistance questioned not only the tactics but the norms these institutions sought to enforce. As *Houses of Correction* means to show, concentrating attention on language and on the activation of information by form, or what Foucault called ethopoeia, offers another means of doing so, for it was often humanist technologies of language that expressed these norms but also put them into question by the rhetoric of their own design.

Chapter 1 will return to Bridewell's origins and earlier to examine the unexpected reception of More's *Utopia*, first published in Latin in 1516, among the cohort of reformers (including Grafton) who were promoting the house of correction in the 1550s alongside their English translation of More's text. Whereas most modern readers and critics have emphasized *Utopia*'s critiques of private property, my study argues that the text's calls to reform England's ancient poor laws and penal statutes were its most notable features in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in part because these calls for reform, as well as the text's imaginary systems of forced labor, were made into particularly pressing topics by the apparatus of its earliest English editions. The chapter draws on a survey of reader interactions in thirty-two copies of the 1551 and 1556 imprints to show how *Utopia*'s arguments concerning punishment and penal labor were subtly but successfully emphasized by the 1556 edition's new marginal index.[161] At the same time, the chapter shows how the network of civic and Christian humanists behind those editions were advocating for remarkably similar policies under Edward VI, including the notoriously extreme and failed vagrancy act of 1547–49, and then administering actual institutions, including London's ambiguous hospitals and the new house of correction. I argue that act of 1547–49, which proposed enslavement as a punishment for vagrancy, provides an essential context

for the establishment of the house of correction in 1553, and positions Bridewell's forced labors on the wider spectrum of "tyrannie, injustice, violence" and "inforced slaverie" where the institution's opponents always understood it.[162] Yet Bridewell's advocates quickly learned to describe its variable sentences as a more proportionate, more equitable, more practical, and more humane alternative to the brutality of the gallows. On occasion they explicitly cited commonplaces out of *Utopia* to support their point.

Chapter 2 retraces the footsteps of Richard Grafton and his apprentice John Howes as they circulated on their daily and weekly rounds between the print shop and the schoolrooms of Christ's Hospital and the courtroom and workshops of Bridewell. By reading the archives and court books of both institutions alongside Grafton's own printed publications, such as Aristotle's *Ethics* and vernacular scriptures, this chapter provides a more detailed understanding of how the humanist faith in the potential of moral education, traditionally exemplified by textual discipline and pedagogical punishments but also enacted in programs of work-training for so-called masterless women and men, came to comprehend and justify its own enforcement by coercive means. This chapter examines some of the most direct and confounding aspects of carceral humanism, including the transference of corporal punishment from the schoolroom to the house of correction and vice versa, as well as several of the most indirect aspects of the culture of correction, including the emphasis on basic literacy, vocational literacy, and vocational language learning at Christ's Hospital. Ultimately, whereas others might see Grafton's profession as a printer and later historian as secondary corollaries to his religious commitments, this chapter argues that Grafton's original vocation, professional habits, and authorial perspective ought to be understood as important, lateral influences in their own right, and as a further expression of the humanist culture that was shaping the practical and administrative undertakings of Christ's Hospital or the house of correction, here, in this life.

Chapter 3 shifts its focus to the legal debates and corruption scandals documented in Bridewell's court books, which have always loomed even larger in the cultural and popular imagination. Although literary historians have called Shakespeare's (and possibly Middleton's) *Measure for Measure* "an amalgam" of Bridewell, "a thinly veiled image of Bridewell," or simply "Shakespeare's Bridewell play," I argue that we have missed some of the more structural connections between the house of correction and early modern dramatic culture, including their shared jurisdictional underpinnings.[163] This chapter follows the lead of early modern players and playwrights in using the physical architecture of London's house of correction—whose complex was connected by a gallery-bridge to

the Blackfriars theater—to reconsider the production, legitimation, and reproduction of carceral space, whether in Grafton's renovation of Bridewell or in the new theater next door. This chapter provides new readings of Shakespeare and Fletcher's *Henry VIII* (c. 1613) and *Measure for Measure* (c. 1604, c. 1621), one of which debates a prison akin to Bridewell and the other of which is set partly in Bridewell Palace, both of which are thought to have been staged at Blackfriars at varying points.[164] My argument here is that studying the architectural experience of these plays in performance recaptures a more embodied sense of their politics and even their jurisdictions, for the same legal privileges or "liberties" that were used to protect early modern theaters such as Blackfriars were also part of the legal underpinnings for the new prison at Bridewell—a surrounding irony used to particular advantage in *Measure for Measure*'s satire not only of individual figures such as Thomas Stanley but of institutional cultures of "Correction, and Instruction" as well.[165]

Chapter 4 looks outward to connections between the house of correction in England and the establishment of new colonies abroad. The 1597 statutes that mandated building houses of correction across England (39 Eliz.c.3–5) included provisions for "Idle" "Rogues" committed to the "Howse of Correccion" to be alternatively "conveyed unto such partes beyond the Seas as shalbe at any time hereafter for that purpose assigned."[166] As early as 1607, Bridewell became responsible for rounding up convicts and poor children to transport into indentured servitude, especially in Virginia; the documentary evidence for these practices increases after 1618, when the city and the prison struck a deal with the Company to provide a hundred individuals per year for shipment overseas.[167] By December 1619, the Virginia Company was sending representatives to Bridewell to handpick fifty men at a time, or "to make choice of such as they thinke for the present fit to be sent."[168] This chapter argues that reestablishing the role of the house of correction within historical critiques of the Anglo-Protestant colonial project enables new but more accurate readings of these wider discourses. The chapter then proceeds to revise critical understandings of Shakespeare's *The Tempest*, which has always been a proving ground for debates about the discourse of colonialism, but rarely if ever in the modern era connected to houses of correction. I argue that *The Tempest*'s obsessive, circumstantial references to its own timing and act structure, which scholars agree show that the play-text derives from performance on the Blackfriars stage, were its way of also creating an experienced critique of the overlaps between carceral and colonial discourses concerning idleness, labor, and even the hours in a worker's day, at a moment when the house of correction was just beginning to provide indentured laborers for the process

of "plantation."[169] The chapter finds evidence for this reading not only in Shakespeare's 1611 text but in Thomas Duffet's restoration restaging *The Mock-Tempest* (1675), which amplified these effects by setting Shakespeare's play not on a desert isle akin to Virginia but in Bridewell prison itself, with Prospero recast not as colonial overlord but as the overseer of his own house of correction.[170]

The book's final chapter considers the relationship between the workhouse movement of the 1640s and '50s and the humanist cultural practices of John Milton and his students. This study compares Milton's *Of Education* (and *Areopagitica*) with William Petty's proposals for "Literary worke-houses," both of which shared an emphasis on vocational language learning, and both of which were circulated to the educational subcommittees of the Hartlib Circle in advance of the establishment of their new workhouses during the interregnum.[171] The chapter then turns to Milton's dramatic poem *Samson Agonistes* and the "common workhouse" whose representation the text repudiates.[172] I argue that *Samson* can be understood both as a personal response to the unjust punishment of Milton's student Thomas Ellwood at Bridewell, as well as a more abstract indictment of the abuses made possible by institutionalized power. Ellwood's own poetry and memoirs, written in secret from the workhouse during this same period, attest to the outrages that also informed Milton's verse, while the interactions of readers with the unusual *Omissa* and *Errata* of Milton's 1671 *Poems*, tracked in a survey of twenty-eight copies, help reveal an additional, material element to *Samson Agonistes*'s ingenious commentary. The chapter ends by glancing forward to the afterlife of *Areopagitica*'s arguments about the social functions of reading and writing and by reconsidering what Fish called the "correcting perspective" so famously inculcated by *Paradise Lost*, whose very first reader was arguably Ellwood.[173] The poem's "correcting perspective" can itself be seen more clearly in the context of the century-long dialectic between the heuristic potential of humanist culture and the experimental carceral institutions described in these pages.[174] The conclusion of the book then addresses Mary Overton's petition for release from Bridewell in 1647 as a different occasion for reevaluating this first century in the relationship between humanist culture and the institutions that initiated its carceral inversion: houses of correction, bridewells, workhouses, and so-called "Literary worke-houses."[175]

CHAPTER 1

"The destruction of vices, and the savinge of menne"

Reading *Utopia* and the 1547–49 Vagrancy Act at the Origins of the House of Correction

Inventing Correction

In 1645, an impassioned defense of England's "houses of Instruction or Correction" circulated in London, attributed to a man named Thomas Stanley.[1] *Stanleyes Remedy*, as the pamphlet was titled, *or, The Way to reform wandering Beggers, Theeves, high-way Robbers and Pick-pockets*, combines policy prescriptions with the genre conventions of a repentance tract. Readers are offered "The Recantation and Conversion of Mr. Stanley," a highway robber in the reign of Elizabeth who was later pardoned and reformed his ways, going so far as to become an administrator for Bridewell itself, as well as an advocate for houses of correction on a national scale. Stanley's "remedy" for the relief of the poor will be "by the meanes of work houses."[2] The pamphlet, ambiguously presented or perhaps authored "By some Well-wishers to . . . the publike good," frames itself as a discourse penned by Stanley at the beginning of the seventeenth century but recently rediscovered at an opportune moment for "stirring up" support for houses of correction and workhouses among "the Committee of Aldermen and Common-Councellmen of the Citie of London," especially so that "this good work may be countenanced by the Parliament, because it tends much to Reformation."[3] The tract begins by crunching numbers. In the voice of Stanley, the opening passages remind readers of the longer history of dire circumstances that first led to England's experiment with houses of correction a century earlier: "For I do recount there are about

9,725 parishes in England, and were there but two Vagrant persons, or idlers, or drunkards, or other dissolute people, which do not labour for their living, in every parish of the Kingdome, the number were 19450 such idle persons."[4] Stanley (or the anonymous author) goes on to estimate the cost of maintaining "these numerous idle, thievish drunken persons" at 88,740 pounds per year: "this great sum of money is spent idly, besides the great sums of money the Vagrants, and Idlers get by begging, stealing, and other misdemeanours, and the Common-wealth loseth that now, which might bee well saved by their labours, if they were set to work."[5] Their labor could be used not only to recoup those losses but to encourage inner, individual changes. "There is left no other way to reform them, but by setting them or the greatest number of them to worke," the *Remedy . . . Or way to reform* claims, "in houses of Instruction or Correction . . . to see whether God will turne their hearts and amend their lives."[6] A more succinct statement of the logic of carceral humanism could scarcely be found.

Unless it comes in one final sentence, just before the peroration ("To conclude . . ."): "The right end and intent of punishing of Rogues, is but the destruction of vices, and saving of men."[7] In that final sentence, Stanley's tract is quoting a line from Thomas More's *Utopia*, using the exact phrasing of Ralph Robinson's 1551 vernacular translation: "the destruction of vices, and the saving of men."[8] Stanley's text reproduces language found only in the marginal index of the "newly perused and corrected" edition of 1556, which points readers and commonplacers to this passage as "The right end and intent of punishment."[9] By claiming that "the right end and intent of punishing of Rogues, is but the destruction of vices, and saving of men," *Stanleyes Remedy* quotes both the specific phrasing of a commonplace inside the text and the commonplacing mark in its margin, neatly revealing its source, specific edition, as well as the humanist intellectual culture in which its authors participate. A similar phrase out of Seneca was commonplaced under the heading for "Correction" in Thomas Eliot's *Banqet of sapience, gathered oute of divers and many godlye authors* (1539), for instance: "It is the parte of a wise man, to rote up vices, and not the offenders."[10] But when the reformed robber and Bridewell administrator Thomas Stanley—or better yet, those trying to personate him—sat down to pen this pamphlet in support of the house of correction as a national program, they not only remembered a sententia from Seneca or its version from More. They opened up a 1556 copy of Robinson's *Utopia* and used this indexical marker to invent—that is, to find—this argument.

Such an interaction between humanist readers, institutional ideas, and literary form reveals several important aspects of how the culture of correction

and the logic of carceral humanism interfaced with one another in early modern England. This chapter will focus on the unusual importance of More's *Utopia* within those frameworks. First, I claim that the establishment of London's original house of correction in 1553 ought to be understood in part as a response to the failure of the notorious vagrancy act of 1547, repealed in 1549. The 1547–49 vagrancy act, which introduced enslavement as a penalty for vagrants and vagabonds—who were meant to be rounded up, chained, branded, and set to work by their own neighbors—was scarcely enforced and quickly repealed; but its failure provided another impetus for the subsequent turn toward the institutional model of the house of correction, which retained the same aims of setting the so-called idle poor on work, albeit through less objectionable, or at least less impracticable, methods. I substantiate this argument through a critical and comparative reading of the repealed law and Bridwell's common practices, and by examining the network of parliamentarians, politicians, civil magistrates, civic and Protestant reformers who were involved with both the 1547–49 legislation and the establishment of Bridewell in the 1550s. Although historians have noticed similarities between the projects of the 1547 law and Bridewell before, few have dwelled upon the causal connections or their further implications.[11] Such a moment offers peculiar insights into the house of correction as one of the origin points for the phenomenon we might now call carceral humanism. What could not be accomplished through an open form of civil brutality could nevertheless be carried out through an institutional model that promised more practical and more humane programs, however utopian (in the anachronistic sense) those promises turned out to be.

Second, I claim that the first English translation of Thomas More's *Utopia*, originally composed and published in Latin in 1516 but introduced to vernacular circulation in England through Ralph Robinson's translation in editions of 1551 and 1556, offers a uniquely important means of examining the central ideas that powered both the 1547 law and the 1553 institution: namely, the idea that thieves and vagrants ought to be given jobs rather than alms, and set to work rather than put to death. I base this claim partly on the fact that the same network of reformers who were behind the 1547 vagrancy act and the establishment of Bridewell were also behind the English editions of *Utopia*. I build my argument through close attention to the ethos-making apparatuses of the 1551 and 1556 editions, which subtly reveal the interests of their makers, especially in a marginal index that encourages readers to receive More's ironized arguments in an earnest light. I broaden these claims through a survey of thirty-two copies of the 1551 and 1556 editions, collated with other instances of quotation and commonplacing,

which reveal the unusual reach of *Utopia*'s ideas about vagrancy and labor as punishment, not only in policy or political tracts but in marginalia and commonplace books. But above all, I stake this argument on the complicated implications of More's brilliantly ironic text, with its multiple speakers, societies, and framing devices. Such a close and closely historicized reading situates More's *Utopia* within the humanist culture of correction in early modern England but also shows how the "no-place" of the text already offered an anticipatory critique of that culture, not least by offering up its commonplace arguments for invention and extraction from contexts and frameworks they ought not to have been extracted from at all.

Rereading "the More Tradition"

The critique of private property that has long predominated in the Marxist tradition and in the cultural imagination of *Utopia* today was not always its defining feature. Instead, the text's early reception had more to do with the related ideas about punishment and labor—those ideas underscored by Stanley's pamphlet. The most notable of *Utopia*'s arguments, I argue, at least in the two earliest editions of its first English translation (1551, 1556), were the protagonist Raphael Hythloday's contentions that thieves ought to be put to work rather than put to death; that "the right end and intent of punishment" ought to be reforming men but destroying their vices; that society ought to address root causes rather than criminalize individuals.[12] If there are "statements that function as genuine institutions," as Miguel Abensour has suggested, then this might have been the most singular statement associated with More's polyvocal and dialogic text, at least in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[13] These ideas were frequently marked by early readers, and have even been called "the More tradition" by modern historians such as C. S. L. Davies, partly for the direct influence More's text exerted, and partly because *Utopia* contained the best-known articulation of what became a common theme in the philosophy of English punishment.[14] Indeed, despite the text's famously difficult ironies, scholars continue to cite *Utopia* as one sincere expression of what would become the shift toward correctional punishments and institutions in England, witnessed by aspects of the Poor Laws passed in 1536, 1547, 1576, 1598, 1610, 1646, and 1649, and especially by the penal "revolution" begun at Bridewell in 1553.[15] Jennifer Bishop has added credence to these claims by establishing many ways in which the same people who commissioned, printed, and licensed the first editions of Robinson's *Utopia*

also advocated for and administered institutions such as the royal hospitals in the 1550s.[16] Working within and extending the network described by Bishop, this chapter will focus on connections between *Utopia*, the house of correction, as well as the implications of a third point of contact: the unusual vagrancy act of 1547–49. Due to the specificity of these historical contexts, my analysis of *Utopia* will be principally concerned with its arguments as formed and subtly reformed by the English editions of the 1550s, and as tracked by readers of these editions, across a survey of thirty-two copies out of the forty-three copies catalogued by the English Short Title Catalogue.[17]

But the enduring power of "the More tradition" in English penology cannot be explicated without taking into account *Utopia*'s humanist rhetorical structures, nor should the uptake of More's arguments be considered without attending to the ironies that inflect the original text.[18] How could the polemic Hythloday levels against disproportion in English justice have been so popular when the alternative punishments he proposes seem almost equally disproportionate: not death but enslavement as a punishment for theft, not a swift death but potentially a lifetime of labor? In Book II, how should one consider Utopian property to be truly held in common when Utopia's penal servants, too, are held in common? How could labor be called fully communal in Utopia, when prisoners and enslaved immigrants do all the most demeaning work? Taken out of context, *Utopia*'s commonplaces may have issued the most radical call for penal reform then circulating in England, but readers proceeding continuously should have noticed counterproposals whose ironic details more than counterbalanced those calls for reform.[19] By stating Hythloday's idealist demands for the radical transformation of English sentencing in such extractable forms while implying a series of questionable labor programs in their stead, *Utopia*'s arguments both criticize and reintroduce ancient means of exploitation—and thus implicitly criticize their reintroduction. The text thereby advances a wider critique of humanist moral philosophy and its practical applications through its anticipatory reproach of humanist reading practices: studied for action, but not for ethical coherence.

For this reason, while the present chapter extends existing arguments for the Christian, civic, Ciceronian interpretation or reception of More's text, my analysis also focuses on early modern reading habits as a different way of thinking about the ironic relation between More's ideas and their afterlife in civic policy.[20] This chapter provides a study of two editions of one particularly influential book, synthesizing evidence of interaction through printed marginalia, manuscript marginalia, commonplacing and other forms of extraction, as well as quotation;

while my survey has been restricted to interactions with copies of the 1551 and 1556 editions due to their proximity to the founding of Bridewell and the 1547–49 vagrancy act, subsequent reader responses might span a much wider period (as Stanley's tract already shows) from the mid-sixteenth to the mid-eighteenth century, roughly.[21] Such readers included lawyers, politicians, and perhaps one Bridewell administrator, if Stanley was indeed behind his own *Remedy*, but while I note identifications wherever possible, many of the interactions collated here remain anonymous or difficult to date within that wider period, beyond their style of hand. So although I am arguing that these two editions betray the specific interests of their makers, prepublication, and had specific relevance at the immediate moment of their publication, this chapter also attests to the topicality of these matters across a much longer period, post publication. Unexpected patterns in *Utopia*'s reception can be discerned by such an approach. Readers tended to be far more active among the many commonplaces of Book I than in the strange terrain of Book II, for example; in this regard, my research confirms the findings of a similar survey of marginalia in other copies of *Utopia* carried out by Stephanie Elsky.[22] This might seem odd, since it is now Book II's fanciful description of a society with golden chamber-pots and no private property that easily overshadows Book I. Instead, it appears to have been the more pragmatic dialogues of Book I that generated the greatest interest for many premodern readers.

In this chapter, I will push that observation further. Regarding Book I, I will argue that Hythloday's reformist call for greater proportion in English criminal sentencing was nearly contradicted by his oddly disproportionate counterproposal for penal servitude or even slavery, but I will also show that such ironies did not appear to pose a problem for those behind the apparatus of the 1551 and 1556 editions, and did not deter the enthusiasm of several early modern readers. In Book II, I collate a similar but less pronounced pattern of prepublication emphasis and subsequent notation, despite or perhaps due to the even greater ethical inconsistencies found there in Utopia's penal code and system of penal servitude. My intent concerning *Utopia* in both regards is to demonstrate that discussions of punishment and penal labor were subtly emphasized, both by the marginal index of the 1556 edition and by ensuing readerly interactions. Taken together, this holistic consideration of More's text in its Robinson translation, its apparatus, its reader's responses, and some of its political and historical contexts all advance the argument that the most notable or even inescapable of all *Utopia*'s ideas, for its early modern English readership, at least, was not necessarily the critique of private property for which the text has become best-known in the twentieth century and the Marxist tradition. Instead, *Utopia*'s most powerful idea

seems to have been the related, rhetorical relay it formed between using labor as a correction to more drastic punishments and using penal labor as a means to correct individual subjects. Or, according to the paraphrase of one "Johannes Bacon" in an early secretary hand in the opening flyleaves of his 1551 *Utopia*, now held by the University of Texas: "Theffecte of ye first book" . . . "agaynst the putting of theves to dethe[,]" for "rather they were put to work[.]"[23]

The 1547–49 Vagrancy Act and the Origins of the House of Correction

In 1547, "An Acte for the Punishment of Vagabondes and for the Relief of the poore and impotent Persons" (1.Edw.VI.c.3) began as so many sermons, tracts, and legislative pronouncements on these topics did, by denouncing "Idleness and Vagabundrye" as "the mother and roote of all thefts Robberyes and all evill actes and other mischief."[24] (The index to the 1556 edition of More's *Utopia* put it more succinctly, as at least one reader underlined: "Idlenesse the mother of theves."[25]) Although idleness was the catchword for discourses of poor relief across the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it was hardly the "roote."[26] An earlier indexical comment in the 1556 *Utopia*—and another passage underlined by that same reader—had more accurately discerned a causal chain that historians would still recognize today: "The decay of husbandry causeth beggary, which is the mother of vagaboundes & theves."[27] In response to the growing crises caused by the rationalization of agrarian estates and resulting displacement of rural laborers into urban settings, the "Acte for the Punishment of Vagabondes and for the Relief of the poore and impotent Persons" nevertheless demanded a deceptively utopian scheme for handling vagrancy and petty crime: Rather than simply whipping, stocking, carting, or hanging offenders, they would be put to work.[28] Lamenting that "godlie Statutes hitherto hath had small effecte," and "Idle and Vagabounde persons" continue to "remaine and increase" as "unprofitable membres or rather ennemies of the Commen wealthe[,]" the statute suggested that if such "enemies of the Commen wealth" should be punished with "deathe whipping emprisonmnent or with other Corporall paine," it would not be beyond their due, citing what might be classed as retributive ("it were not without their desert") and consequentialist ("for thexample of others and to the benefit of the Commen wealth") justifications alike.[29] But the law's ultimate aims were distinct. Offenders should be "brought to be made proffitable" and to "do service" rather than exterminated or simply imprisoned.[30]

Under the 1547 law, however, offenders would not merely be set to work. They would be enslaved—temporarily at first, but under sentences that were designed to quickly be extended to life. At first, any master whose employment had been refused or reneged on for any reason could summon two Justices of the Peace who, "hearing the proefe of the Idle living of the saide parson" from at least two witnesses, would "imediatelie cawse the saide loiterer to be marked with an whott Iron in breast the marke of V" and "adjudge the said parsone living so Idelye to such presentor to be his Slave."[31] Sentences were set initially at two years: "to have and to holde the said Slave to him his executors or assignes for the space of twoo Yeres."[32] Any offender caught trying to escape was to be branded (on the forehead this time) with an "S" and condemned for life.[33] Any "S" caught running away a second time was to be executed: "to suffer paines of death as other fellons ought to doo."[34] No parole for the original sentences, and no privilege of the clergy whatsoever was to be given. Several of the same ironic patterns will be noticed in *Utopia*; in the conflicted code of the Polylerites, for example, permanently branding and scarring offenders ("V" for vagabond, "S" for slave) would effectively render promises of rehabilitation empty, as even Stanley's tract would later recognize. In fact, sentences under the 1547 law quite explicitly moved only one way. Every universal two-year sentence could quickly be extended to a lifetime of forced labor, but none could be shortened even if those criminalized reformed their ways.

The 1547 law made none of Utopia's ironic claims about the humane conditions of its slavery, however. During their period of bondage, "to have and to holde" an offender required providing only bread and water for sustenance. Beating and chaining the enslaved person with a "ring a round their neck" was endorsed wherever deemed necessary; especially if any of these bondsmen were found to be gathering together without warrant and perhaps thereby conspiring.[35] A master could "cawse the saide Slave to worke by beating, cheyning or otherwise" in whatever labor, however degrading to person or character, or "how vile so ever it be."[36] Provisions for a convict leasing scheme were included, wherein slaves could be held by individuals, as well as by parishes and corporations (yet another similarity to *Utopia*). But again going slightly farther, the 1547 act's punishments were explicitly meant to justify reducing offenders to chattel, who could be sold, leased, or bequeathed as "any other movable goodes or Catelles."[37] The law's emphasis on targeting poor children seems particularly disturbing, even when compared with the so-called "mervelous equitie" of Utopia's slavers, who were praised by the 1556 edition for not taking children captive.[38] Under the 1547 act, any "children" (defined by the law as between the ages of

five and twenty-four for men or twenty for women) seen begging or wandering, even if they had committed no other crime beyond their poverty, and certainly whether "theye be willing or not," could be taken as a "Slave" by any master able to catch them; all that was needed was physical detainment and presentment before the Constables and Justices of the Peace.[39] Once captured, these children and adolescents would fall under the same conditions and penalties as adult criminals for attempts to escape: first, to be permanently sentenced and branded as indentured penal slaves, and second, to die.[40] Children "resisting there corrections" at any point could be put to death immediately.[41]

The law's passage was its peak, however. Its "extremitie" could not have been "ben putt in use," as the statute that repealed it in 1549 stated; there is little external evidence that the statute was ever enforced at all.[42] And yet, although everything about the 1547–49 act now appears to confirm its rejection as abhorrent and "extreme," its provisions were not actually so very far from other forms of unfreedom practiced in England across the medieval and early modern periods: serfdom, villeinage, indentured servitude, and forced apprenticeships for children—one feature of the 1547 law with a long and successful afterlife, as Steve Hindle has pointed out—and soon enough, houses of correction and workhouses.[43] What was unusual, however, was also what was most Utopian about the 1547 statute: its deployment of such a condition explicitly as punishment.[44] Thus what seems most unusual and unacceptable today—the practice and language of slavery, which the 1547 act appears to have envisioned as a way to "produce the effect of penal servitude while sparing the trouble of establishing any machinery to administer it," as Davies wrote—was rejected.[45] But what was actually more unique about the law in its own time was the conceptual shift toward deploying the benefits of labor as punishment, and this idea was not rejected at all. Precisely such a concept was coming to permeate national legislative attempts to reorganize poor relief from the parish upward, and precisely such a concept was given its first dedicated institution almost immediately thereafter, at London's Bridewell—and by many of the same reformers involved with both the 1547 law and the production of the 1550s editions of *Utopia*.

Jennifer Bishop has already illuminated the network of connections between the royal hospitals and the 1550s *Utopia*s, especially through the political engagements of William Cecil (1520/1–1598), Thomas Smith (1513–1577), George Tadlowe (1505–1557), and Ralph Robinson (1520–1577).[46] By further restricting its focus to Bridewell and to the preceding 1547 vagrancy law, this chapter aims to further strengthen these claims. Tadlowe, the sponsor of the Robinson translation whose "procurement, and earnest request" is credited on the title page,

was equally active in his role as a governor of the hospitals including Bridewell, and a witness in Parliament to the 1547 vagrancy act.[47] Robinson's master at the Goldsmiths Company was Martin Bowes, one of the most important advocates and governors of Bridewell and the royal hospitals, and a witness in Parliament to the 1547 vagrancy act.[48] Cecil, to whom the 1551 edition is dedicated, was instrumental in the transfer of Bridewell to the city's control (along with Richard Grafton, among other collaborators), and a witness in Parliament to the 1547 vagrancy act.[49] Smith, who authorized the 1551 *Utopia* in his role as censor on the Privy Council and witnessed the vagrancy act in Parliament, is thought to have been the principal author of the controversial 1547 legislation.[50] The publishers and printers (Stephen Mierdman, 1510–1559, working for Abraham Veale, whose dates are difficult to determine) have been linked with Edward Seymour, Protector Somerset, whose godly cohort was at this time launching its unprecedented campaign from the presses, while also enacting the institutional and legislative arms of their agenda, which included the house of correction and these early Poor Law initiatives.[51] Richard Grafton, the evangelical printer and reformer who was perhaps the single most dedicated of Bridewell's governors in its earliest years, also shares ties to nearly every member of this cohort of Edwardian reformers, as well as to the printer and likely corrector of the 1556 edition, Richard Tottel: Tottel was Grafton's son-in-law and his own printer, when he later turned to publishing his *Chronicles* and other projects.[52]

Thus, although records of parliamentary debates surrounding the 1547 act are unfortunately lost, Tadlowe, Cecil, Smith, Bowes, and Nicholas Ridley (1500–1555) would all have been present when Parliament approved the act in 1547, as well as when, in the wake of the uprisings and crises of 1549 and the subsequent demise of Somerset's protectorate, the legislation was hastily repealed.[53] This earlier attempt at top-down reform (and its embarrassing failure) would have been fresh in their memories when Tadlowe, Cecil, Smith, and their cohort sponsored the English *Utopia* in 1551; or when Tadlowe, Bowes, Ridley, and Grafton advocated for the establishment of the house of correction in 1550–53; or when Tadlowe, Bowes, and Grafton convened its administration in 1556 and thereafter; or even when Grafton's son-in-law Tottel printed the 1556 edition. Smith would surely have recognized comparisons to the "ferocity" of the 1547–49 law when he acted alongside his former pupil Cecil as censor on the Privy Council, allowing *Utopia* to go to print in 1551 (translated by Cecil's schoolmate, Robinson), for Smith is thought to have been the author of the 1547 vagrancy act.[54] As More himself once wrote, in a passage one reader marked with a manicule in a 1556 copy held by the Folger library: lessons learned from

"adversities" and "experience of the world" are those "which beinge so learned can not easely be forgotten."[55] Perhaps it was through this sort of negative influence that the "oddball blueprints" of the 1547 vagrancy act and even *Utopia* did not prove so eccentric, given the "actual institutional developments" at the house of correction that followed so closely thereupon, A. L. Beier has argued.[56] "Life in a house of correction" would turn out to be "very like the slavery envisaged in 1547," Davies suggested.[57] Both these projects were, as Joanna Innes and others have noted, and as this chapter seeks to substantiate, "utopian."[58]

Correcting *Utopia*: 1516, 1551, 1556

It is a critical commonplace to note the radical ambivalences that have inflected *Utopia* from the multiple moments of its composition in 1515 and 1516 and throughout its ensuing critical reception, but it is rarely remarked that so many of those ambiguities are the by-product of the text's correction. Stephen Greenblatt notes the tenuous "balance of forces" in *Utopia* between "intellectual ambition and self-effacement, Christian humanism and realpolitik, radicalism and the craving for social order, reforming zeal and detached irony, confidence in human power and misanthropy, expansiveness and the longing for strict confinement."[59] Critics commonly attribute some part of these ambivalences to the tensions between *Utopia*'s first and second books, which were written in reverse, according to the letters of Erasmus.[60] Book II (containing the description of Utopia) was composed first, when More found himself "at leisure" during an embassy to the Netherlands in 1515, while what became Book I (containing the prefatory and remembered dialogues) was written on a later occasion, back in England, "*ex tempore*," just before publication in Latin in 1516, and just at the moment of More's entrance into public service for Cardinal Wolsey and Henry VIII.[61] J. H. Hexter has located the moment in the text where it seems More "pried open a seam" to insert this addition or correction.[62] The inserted passages include the discourse concerning the Polylerites, Achorians, Macarians, the English, and the bulk of Book I; this is the material that addresses the English context most directly, and became essential to shaping a reader's understanding of the "best state of the public weal," even if these dialogues have since come to be overshadowed in the modern cultural imagination by Book II's more colorful descriptions of Utopian society itself.[63]

Interestingly, the seam that marks the beginning of More's correction in 1516 is found within a passage that has also been described as a marking a turning

point within More's thought toward a more civic brand of humanism.[64] At first, the narrator claims he will *not* relate Hythloday's many other tales, besides that of Utopia, even though the stories of those other kingdoms might well provide "lessons" by which the "our own cities" might "correct [*corrigendis*] their errors" in the Cambridge modern translation.[65] The passage in Robinson's translation reads as follows:

> But as he marked manye fonde and folishe lawes in those newe founde landes, so he rehersde manye actes and constitutions wherby thies our cities, nations, contreys and Kingdomes maye take ensample to amende [*corrigendis*] theire faultes enormities and errors, wherof in another place as I saide I will intreate. Now at this time I am determined to reherse onlye that he tolde us of the maners customes, lawes, and ordinaunces of the utopians. But firste I will repete our former communication by thoccasion, and as I mighte saye the drifte wherof he was browghte into the mention of that weale publique.[66]

The text doubles back on itself rather awkwardly here. Although Hythloday has spoken of many "actes and constitutions" of other kingdoms that might provide examples whereby "thies our" own cities and countries might find ways to "amend theire faultes enormities and errors," the narrator insists on treating these at another time.[67] For the present he is determined to rehearse only what has been told of the Utopians. "But first," he suddenly reverses himself: "I will repete our former communication" concerning those other societies, the Polylerites, Achorians, Macarians and the rest of the policies discussed in Book I, rather than proceeding to "only" Utopia.[68] Hexter posits this as the point where More's revisions were inserted. George Logan reinforces that claim by arguing that this passage also signals to More's humanist readers a shift in his intellectual interests toward working not only for the education of virtuous leaders and citizens but toward the civic institutions and practices that might shape manners, customs, or "*mores*" (macaronically punning, as Stephanie Elsky has shown) that can be used to improve society even more broadly.[69]

More's choice of words for how this approach to imaginary places might offer an impetus for correcting (*corrigendis*) actual English policy is another aspect of what gives his meta-commentary away, I would add. In 1516, as he reopened his manuscript to reshape how *Utopia* would be received in Wolsey's London, More marked his second thoughts as correction: textually, the insertion of a material extension into the book; rhetorically, as a partial retraction or step backward

that produces two steps forward, amplifying the meaning(s) and ambiguity of the text by the multiplier of its other societies, besides Utopia; and theoretically, as a model of how literary imagination might provide a vicarious means of exploring ethical and political questions, especially those regarding the institutional underpinnings of the commonwealth. More's text thus offers an early theorization of the humanist culture of correction, although it has since become much better known for lending its name to an entire utopian subgenre; in either case, the text marks its own project as offering a vicarious exploration of fictive or even politically unthinkable customs, institutions, and social formations, and invites the ethical and practical applicability of considering those models as ways to correct society's flaws, or as "ensample[s]" whereby to "amende [*corrigendis*] theire faultes enormities and errors."[70] More's fictional society, reframed by the dialogues of Book I and reframed again by the supposedly real dialogues of the epistles among his friends, interfaces between individual *ethopoeia* and social ethos-making, personating the voices of multiple Mores to address the question of how social mores are shaped and made.

These might seem like minor details within the broader sweep of passages that are often examined by scholars and critics who seek to understand *Utopia* as a thought-model or "Philosophers counsel" meant to assist with the "determination of goodness," as Philip Sidney put it.[71] The *topos* of correction within the passage is merely one of the text's most subtle means of signaling its potential commitment to a civic brand of Christian humanism—though I would point out it is also a way of undermining that commitment, by marking its arrival as a change of mind. Quentin Skinner has influentially argued that *Utopia*'s commitments are squarely Ciceronian, despite Hythloday's fashionable Platonism. More's persona, as well as the example of Utopia itself, restates the humanist case for "the ideal of civic self-government, based on an active and politically educated citizenship," Skinner writes.[72] In this interpretation More and his *Utopia* rank *negotium* over *otium* and mobilize a "practical kind of philosophy," a more effective form of knowledge (repeatedly likened, perhaps ironically for modern readers, to the theater).[73] This is the More who, despite his contemplative reservations, set out to make the world "less bad" [*minime malum*] through political engagement on the public stage, and published *Utopia* at precisely that moment of choosing.[74] David Norbrook also places *Utopia* within the tradition of a politically minded or civic humanism, and thereby, "though More himself may not have liked the fact," in "direct community" with the rise of radical Protestantism.[75] When the narrator posits Hythloday's fictions as a vicarious means for reimagining society itself, especially its civic institutions, the text surely calls

forth this larger tradition; but by subtly flagging these passages as corrections or secondary amplifications, the text also casts an aspect of ironic doubt. Which should be given more emphasis: first thoughts or second?

As Norbrook points out, emphasizing the text's civic applications helps explain its cross-confessional reception. In 1551 or 1556, a shared theory of the literary text as capable of offering negative "ensamples" to "amend" societal errors offers another underexplored means, within the broader culture of civic humanism, of helping to explain *Utopia*'s surprising popularity among "gospellers" such as Tadlowe, Robinson, Cecil, Bowes, and Grafton, who commissioned, translated, authorized, and promoted or perhaps appropriated *Utopia* in English.[76] In the most succinct example of what More would have feared, these reformers translated his *De optimo reipublicae statu* not only as "the best state of a common wealthe" but rather as "a declaration of the Godly governement."[77] For all its artful framing and ironic indirections, More's rhetorical masterpiece seems to have been taken by these so-called commonwealth men as clearly congruent with their call for the reformation of English social policy. This network's "interests in civic reform and social change, exemplified by [their] involvement in charitable projects such as the development of the royal hospitals, provide an important context for the reading of the Robinson *Utopia*," Chloë Houston has argued, describing the vernacular *Utopia* as "a text intended to influence and contribute to efforts to promote social change through the creation of new institutions, or the reform of existing ones."[78] The publication of the English *Utopia* can "best be understood as a contribution to wider efforts to construct programs of civic and social reform within local and national governmental structures," Bishop writes.[79]

The political and theological interests of this cohort are immediately apparent, and yet subtly complicated, by the material texts of the 1551 and 1556 editions themselves. This is evident from the theological significations of the 1551 edition's very first, outsized line: "A fruteful" and then "pleasaunt worke of the beste state of a publique weale," translated by "Raphe Robinson Citizein and Goldsmithe of London, at the procurement, and earnest request of George Tadlowe Citizein & Haberdassher of the same Citie." The language of fruitfulness, a reformer's byword for practical utility, immediately sends a signal about the text's repositioning.[80] But if *Utopia* was being promoted as work of fruitful, *this*-worldly activism, Robinson's preface also gives a harshly deprecating picture of his own efforts. First, Robinson endeavors to shift the responsibility or indeed the blame for the production ("He . . . as the chiefe persuadour, must take upon him the daunger, whiche upon this bolde, and rashe enterprise shall ensue") squarely onto his friend George Tadlowe, who "ceassed not by al meanes possible

continualy to assault me, until . . . what by the force of his pitthie arguments and strong reasons, and what by his authority so persuaded me, that he caused me to agree and consente to the imprintinge herof."[81] According to Robinson it was Tadlowe's "assault" that convinced him to allow his English *Utopia* to go press in 1551, a pocket-sized octavo. The translation would go through five editions (1551, 1556, 1597, 1624, 1639) before any rival appeared (Gilbert Burnet's version in 1684), and has remained in wide circulation even to this day, as the text for the Everyman and World's Classics editions currently in print.[82] While Robinson's take on More's Latin is often loose, his idiom has proved enduring as a work of vernacular literature in its own right.

Little sense of such an accomplishment is registered by Robinson's prefatory materials, however, whether for the sake of modesty or in an effort to downplay the political implications of the publication. Yet Robinson's preface also reveals much of the culture of civic zeal that characterized London in the brief era of Edward VI, and to which this *Utopia* was meant to contribute, in its own way: "Seeing every sort, and kinde of people in theire vocation, and degree busilye occupied about the commonwealthes affaires: and especially learned men daily putting forthe in writing newe inventions, and devises to the furtheraunce of the same: [I] thought it my bounden duetie to God, and to my countrey . . . to occupie, and exercise meself in bestowing such spare houres [. . . that] though no commoditie of that my labour, and travile to the publique weale should arise, yet it might by this appeare . . . good wille hereunto was not lacking."[83] In his "spare hours," Robinson seeks to join those already at work "in theire vocation" improving the commonwealth: "especially learned men daily putting forthe in writing new inventions, and devises to the furtherance of the same."[84] "To the accomplishement therfore, & fulfilling of this my minde, & purpose," Robinson writes, "I toke upon me to tourne, and translate out of Latine into oure Englishe tonge the frutefull, & profitable boke."[85] This "tourne" or turning of the text out of Latin into English may also be part of what has allowed it to be rendered a "frutefull, & profitable" one.[86]

In the "corrected" edition and changed circumstances of 1556, Robinson replaced his preface with a letter "to the gentle reader," perhaps since Cecil's position became clouded after the accession of Mary I, and since apologies were no longer needed for More.[87] Robinson apologizes instead for hastiness and haphazardness of his earlier version, submitted again here, "newlie perused and corrected," though this could seem misleading, since changes in the body text are impossibly minor.[88] The edition's most significant correction is the improved formal access (and meta-commentary) created by a new marginal index, or

"divers notes in the margent augmented[,]" as well as the addition of several paratexts at the close, which had been included in earlier Latin editions, but not the 1551 translation.[89] The index in particular represents a significant departure both from the 1551 edition (where there was none) and from the much sparser marginal indexes provided in early Latin editions. Yet within his new disclaimers about the failures of his first printing and endeavors of this second, Robinson also cites a passage from his own More that is among the most telling he could choose: "though in any of our actes and doinges, (as it ofte chanceth) we happen to faile and misse of our good pretensed purpose, so that the successe and our intent prove thinges farre odde: yet so we ought with wittie circumspection to handle the matter, that no evill or incomoditie, as farre further as may be, and as in us lieth, do therof ensue."[90] Outwardly, Robinson's apology is for the poor quality of his translation, which he hopes can be turned now for the best, but inwardly, what Robinson regrets might be the temporary stall to the efforts of his cohort of evangelical reformers under Mary I, or perhaps the general efforts of his countrymen toward higher literary and political achievements—that their success still remains far off from their intent. The passage from *Utopia* that Robinson cites has been a touchstone for those who seek to understand *Utopia* in the tradition of civic, Christian humanism, and even for those who read between all of the text's ironies to the possibility of its reformist pragmatism even now: "But you must with a crafty wile and a subtell traine studye and endeaveoure yourselfe asmuch as in you liethe to handle the matter wittelye and handsomelye for the purpose and that whiche youe can not turne to good, so to order it that it be not very bade."[91] In this passage one can hear a persuasive interpretation of More's own intentions in publishing *Utopia* in 1516, at the moment of his entrance into the service of Cardinal Wolsey and of Henry VIII. In this understanding, *Utopia* was meant not only to offer a real lesson through a vicarious example, or a radically imaginative though indirect form of counsel, but also (ironically enough) as a sign of one's dedication to the tasks at hand, to the legal and administrative work of improving and correcting the commonwealth, making Wolsey's government slowly "less bad," even while entertaining a literary dialogue about an impossible (or perhaps even undesirable) ideal.[92] This is the claim Robinson echoes in his 1556 regret that theory and practice, or "good pretensed purpose" and "our actes and doinges," remain so "farre" from one another.[93]

Other paratextual corrections to the 1556 edition explicitly promote *Utopia* as a text containing real lessons for practical application. "Cornelius Graphey to the Reader," a loose translation of a set of commendatory verses originally included in early Latin editions (*Cornelius Grapheus ad lectorum)* by the Dutch

humanist and poet Cornelis De Schrijver, offers one case in point.[94] "Wilte thou learne thy life to leade, by divers ways that godly be?" the poem asks in Robinson's version.[95] "Wilt thou of vertue and of vice, understande the very grounde?"[96] The answers are to be found in an active reading of *Utopia*, the poem claims: "Then read, and marke, and beare in minde."[97]

Book I, England: "Make theves, and then punish them"

The active reader imagined by "Graphey" in this 1556 paratext, or even the most cursory of readers flipping through the forty-three double-page spreads that make up Book I of *Utopia* in its 1556 edition, would likely have noticed those four spreads whose margins contain the greatest number of indexical markers, if only because the density of the ink in the margin catches the eye, even at a glance.[98] The most pressing issue in Book I would therefore quickly become apparent to close and cursory readers alike. "By what meanes ther might be fewer theves & robbers"; "Idleness the mother of theves"; "Landlordes by the way checked for Rentraising"; "Of Idle serving men come theves," read the four markers on the first most densely packed page.[99] "The decaye of husbandry causeth beggary, which is the mother of vagaboundes & theves"; "The cause of dearth of victuales"; "What inconvenience cometh of dearth of worke"; and "The cause of dearthe of work" are pointed out on the next set of pages to feature so many markers.[100] Thieves, it would seem, are everywhere, mostly due to a lack of employment and partly perhaps to any number of vices. But then there is a turn. "Thefte in the olde lawe not punished by death"; "What inconvenience ensueth of punishinge theft with death"; "Punishing of theft by deathe causeth the thefe to be a murtherer," read three of the four markers on the next and final most populated margin; "That mans law ought not to be prejudicial to gods law," reads the fourth.[101] From the margins alone, one can perceive how thoroughly England's vagrancy crisis and accompanying moral panic permeate what "More" (the narrator) and his interlocutors have to say about the current state of the commonwealth—but one can also immediately detect the paradoxical argument *Utopia* appears to advance: Despite their growing numbers, thieves should *not* to be punished with death. Despite the growing panic, theft should *not* be punished more and more harshly.

Utopia calls instead for the reform of criminal sentencing, in ringing sentences that begin in Book I, soon after the textual seam that reveals where More began his correction.[102] During the retrospective dialogue at Cardinal Morton's table, an archetypal English lawyer praises the rigorous justice then being dealt to the

thieves and vagrants who throng London's streets, as petty criminals are strung up to die twenty-at-a-time on the city's gallows. But the lawyer is perplexed. Since "so fewe escaped punishment," he wonders how it could be that thieves nevertheless remain "in every place so riffe and so ranke."[103] Hythloday, however, sees nothing to be surprised about. "Marvel nothinge here at," he retorts:

> for this punishment of theves [*1a*] passeth the limites of Justice, and [*1b*] is also very hurtefull to the weale publique. For it is [*2a*] to extreame and cruel a punishment for thefte, and yet [*2b*] not sufficient to refraine and withhold men from thefte. For [*3a*] simple thefte is not so great an offense, that it ought to be punished with death. Neither [*3b*] ther is any punishment so horrible, that it can kepe them from stealinge, whiche have no other craft, wherby to get their living. Therefore in this pointe, not you onlye, but also the most part of the world, be like evill scholemaisters, which be readier to beate, then to teache, their scholers. For great and horrible punishmentes be appointed for theves, whereas much rather provision should have ben made, that there were some meanes, whereby they might get their living, so that no man shoulde be driven to this extreme necessitie, firste to steale, and then to die.[104]

This is one of the most persuasive moments in Robinson's translation, and seemingly in earnest.[105] Many early readers took note. In Brown University's 1556 copy, the passage was underlined by a member of the Inner Temple, Augustin Hind ("Avgvstyn Hynd"), in 1571–72.[106] A reader in a 1556 copy held by the Bodleian Library drew an elaborate manicule in the margin here.[107] In a sixteenth-century manuscript of law readings held by the British Library, extracts from *Utopia* including this passage are commonplaced: "the punishment for thefte in England is to extreame [and] cruell" . . . "for simple thefte is not so great an offence, that it ought to be punished with death," and so on.[108] This is what John Bacon noted as a point "of ye first book" . . . "agaynst the putting of theves to dethe[,]" for "rather they were put to work[.]"[109] In a 1551 copy held by the British Library, an eighteenth-century reader who signs his name (twice) as "Hughe Pigotte" has inserted two comments on this passage in an italic hand, unfortunately partially trimmed: "England [unreadable] to thev[es]"; "[E]xcellent reasons[.]"[110] (Of the four significant comments Pigot made throughout his margins, three concern *Utopia*'s statements on punishment.[111]) "However difficult it may be to determine what More thinks of Utopia," George Logan comments, it seems "perfectly clear what he thinks of the present condition of England."[112]

What then is Hythloday's meaning? Death as a punishment for theft is both unjust and ineffective; it is neither moral nor expedient, neither *honestas* nor *utilitas* in Ciceronian terms. First this punishment is flawed primarily because it is disproportionate: too harsh, too extreme, too horrible. There is no fit between the punishment and the crime, and therefore "I thinke it not right nor justice, that the losse of money should cause the losse of mans life."[113] Pigot's marginalia is again partly trimmed: "the losse of [mo]nie ought [not] to be the lo[sse] of anie ma[n's] lyfe[.]"[114] Hind underlined this passage as well.[115] Second, punishing theft with death is simply ineffective, as evidenced by the persistence of thieves. The penalty addresses each instance indiscriminately and yet does nothing about the societal or structural troubles underlying these instances. England's punishments irrationally seek to address criminals rather than crime itself, each case but not its causes. Hythloday will then go on to offer a systematic account of the sources of poverty, unemployment, and thereby crime in England: the economics of enclosure, the pressures of foreign wars, the corruption of the elite. At this point the 1556 edition's marginal notations pick up their pace, translating these causes into the lexicon of Protestant reformers, especially the key term of idleness: "Idlenesse the mother of theves"; "Of Idle serving men come theves."[116] Hind's underlining in 1571–72 followed accordingly.[117] Another reader in a 1556 copy held by the National Library of Scotland saw fit to emphasize the indexical marker on "what inconvenience ensueth of punishynge theft with death."[118]

Although the acuity of this rational, causal and systemic analysis is somewhat blunted by the 1556 index's emphasis on the byword of "idleness," it was this analysis, "rather than the invention of Utopian society" that was for Russell Ames "More's highest artistic and intellectual achievement."[119] Hythloday's rationalist method was both produced and limited by its corrective linguistic structures, one might also note. His criteria are laid bare by sentences that turn back and forth between first one (to generalize: the moral, or Cicero's *honestas*, or Aristotle's universal justice, or the formalism of the common law) then the other (to generalize again: the expedient, or Cicero's *utilitas*, or Aristotle's particular justice, or the different formalism of Chancery equity), dilating the argument each time.[120] Logan has suggested how the passage's "triple iteration" of its two claims—that death is neither just nor efficient as a punishment for theft—might be diagrammed: 1a, 1b, 2a, 2b, 3a, 3b (as inserted above).[121] Rhetorically the passage opens in two directions that turn out to be corrective, if not circular. Passing "the limites of Justice" one way, toward cruelty, can do nothing to stop offenders who have been driven from "extreme necessitie" to pass those same limits in another way, by committing crimes.[122] *Summum jus summa injuria*.[123]

Justice enforced so strictly has become unjust. Or, as Hythloday himself asks a few pages later in another passage Hind has underlined: "why maye not this extreme & rigorous justice we be called plaine injurie?"[124] In its bidirectional and doubly corrective address to two distinct values (morality and utility, neither just nor useful), returning each time to the same set of claims in an expanded and more detailed register, as if in widening and amplifying concentric circles, Hythloday's periods produce their analytic beauty. A similar pattern structures More's pithy metaphor. As a reader noted between 1600 and 1605 in a heavily annotated 1556 copy now held by Princeton University: "many are readier to Beate then to teach[.]"[125]

What results is a harsh indictment of England's social order. Hythloday accuses English society of producing the very criminality it seeks to redress, in terms Robinson adapts for the lexicon of midcentury reformers—profit and vice, education and infection: "For this Justice is more beautiful in apperaunce, and more florishinge to the shewe, then either juste or profitable. For by suffring your youthe wantonlie, and viciously to be brought up, and to be infected, even from their tender age, by litle and litle with vice: then a goddes name to be punished, when they commit the same faultes after being come to mans state, which from their youthe they were ever like to do: In this point, I praye you, what other thing do you, then make theves, and then punish them?"[126] Early readers were again particularly interested in this passage. Interestingly, in a 1551 copy held by the Bodleian that is shorn of Book I and contains only Book II, a secretary hand retained in the cropped endpapers nevertheless copied out this passage (among others from Book I), perhaps at a time before the text's first half had been cut from the binding: "Justice more beautifull then" . . . "juste or profitable[.]"[127] Did a later reader cut Book I because they cared so little for its arguments, or in order to make off with them? Pigot also commented on this passage, again partially trimmed: "By this meanes th[ey] first make and then hang thieves[.]"[128] Hind underlined this passage, and a reader who signed his name as Robert Hare marked this section with a manicule in 1572, in a 1556 copy held by the Folger.[129] Hythloday's causal analysis remains as remarkable now as it appears to have been then. Taking into account the productive power of social structures and institutions, in addition to their repressive function, More's text has been called startlingly "original" for its era.[130] "In his capacity to see past the symptoms to the sources of the trouble, in his grasp of the intricacy and ramification of social structure and social action," Hexter wrote, More's mode of Christian humanism is surprisingly realist.[131] *Utopia* "does not find the causes of human misery in the mind or soul, in fate, in fallible and unchanging 'human nature,' or in the mental

and moral weaknesses" of the subject, as Ames has argued, but rather in "material conditions" and "under social compulsion."[132]

The acuity of Hythloday's analysis in these passages is not without its dark humor, however, or the "mordancies of the harshest social critique," as Logan puts it.[133] "There is no body that knoweth not, how unreasonable" . . . "that a thefe and an homicide or murderer, should suffer equall and like punishment," Hythloday avers.[134] When a thief is "in no lesse jeoperdie, nor judged to no lesse punishment" than a murderer, Hythloday's logical conclusion is that a robber might as well kill the victims he would otherwise merely rob, and thus more easily hide his crime.[135] Why not? If the malefactor is caught for murder in addition to theft, the punishment will be no worse. According to Hythloday, thieves are not only encouraged to become murderers by this system; they are "strongly and forcibly provoked, and in a maner constreined to kill him, whom els he woulde have but robbed."[136] One senses that Hythloday's rationalist account has gone too far, however, and is now being satirized by More in this passage; and yet during this discussion the frequency of the 1556 marginal index spikes again, showing a level of earnest interest not demonstrated since the earlier discussion of "idleness": "Thefte in the olde lawe not punished by death."[137] "What inconnenience ensueth of punishinge theft with death."[138] "Punishing of theft by deathe causeth the thefe to be a murtherer."[139] "What lawfull punishment may be devised for theft."[140] Thus those behind the 1556 edition subtly directed access to the text for their readers and commonplacers, guiding attention to the matters they found most topical: remedies for the problems of so-called idle beggars and dangerous thieves. Accordingly, a commonplace book compiled by Edward Pudsey circa 1600 included this passage as one of eight sententiae clearly extracted with the aid of the 1556 edition's marginal index: "Punishing of theft by death can sete the theef to bee a murtherer, killing the partye whome els hee wold but have robbed," Pudsey wrote.[141]

At this point, the enthusiasms in the printed marginalia of the 1556 edition have begun to fully outstrip the text's own commitments. Hythloday commends the Roman practice of using perpetual penal slavery as a punishment for "great and heinous trespaces," which the margin indexes erroneously twice as "What lawfull punisment may be devised for theft" and "How the Romaynes punished thefte."[142] Neither Robinson nor More's Hythloday was likely to be discussing how the Romans treated minor theft specifically (even if Roman culture was known for its legal innovations regarding property) but rather how they dealt with still more serious crimes, or "great and heynous" ones.[143] The notes then introduce the next section of the text as "A worthy and commendable

punishment of theves in the weale publique of the Polylerites in Persia" a full page before Polylerite punishments are in fact being described, whereas usually these indexical markers are placed exactly at the one or two lines of text to which they refer.[144] Given these mistakes it seems unlikely that Robinson would have been responsible for his own marginal notes; perhaps someone even more eager to note the applicability of his *Utopia* is at work. Although there has been little speculation about the compositor of the 1556 index, as the printer, Richard Tottel is a likely candidate; his well-known editorial interventionism, connections to London's legal community, and work on other titles by More, including More's complete English *Works* in 1557, support this suggestion.[145] In any case, the index is truly beginning to take on a voice of its own. As the body text describes how the Polylerites (whose name, meaning "people of much nonsense," must not be forgotten) force their thieves to render restitution to their victims, rather than to their king, "whome they thinke to hav no more righte to the theifestolen thinge, than the theife him selfe hathe[,]" the marginal note offers a humorously ambiguous reprimand: "A privie nippe for them that do otherwise."[146] A privy nip, meaning either that this note serves as a vague but perhaps bawdy threat against anyone who thinks otherwise—that is, disagrees with the Polylerite doxa—or that the indicated portion of the text serves as a warning to those such as More, no doubt, who might have tried to "*do* otherwise" in monarchical England (emphasis added; Hind also found this passage worth emphasizing).[147] As it continues the index increasingly functions to point out More's perceived humor in this way: "O wittie head," reads one remark.[148] "In this place semeth to be a nipping taunte" reads another.[149] But such self-aware comments are never made by the index concerning *Utopia*'s statements on punishment, which are instead indexed in earnest as useful sententiae. This suggests that while the correctors of *Utopia* in 1556 were indeed alert to More's humor, they took his penology seriously—or chose to present it as such.

Hythloday's polemic against England's abstractly retributive system of justice does come off as eloquent, effective, sincere. In these passages, "More makes plain to the reader the dire implications of the refusal . . . to even attempt to reform early sixteenth-century England," Thomas Betteridge has written.[150] But in the system of the Polylerites ("nonsense people"), which Hythloday describes as a counterproposal, the text's tone is more difficult to determine, though this has not stopped readers past and present from enthusiastically endorsing Polylerite ideas. Reading linearly, one might expect to approach this society with the criteria Hythloday has only just finished expounding: Are these punishments for theft either just or useful? Criminals

> themselves be condempned to be common laborers, and, oneles the thefte be very heinous, they be neither locked in prison [*claudandum ergastulo*], nor fettered in gyves, but be untied and go at large, laboring in the common workes. They that refuse labour, or go slowly and slacklye to their worke, be not onlye tied in cheines, but also pricked forward with stripes. But beinge diligente about their worke they live without checke or rebuke. Every night they be called in by name: and be locked in their chambers. Beside their daily labour, their life is nothing hard or incommodious.[151]

Concerning utility or efficiency, one can respond in the affirmative. A system that provides labor for the common good appears more beneficial than one that only leaves bodies swinging from scaffolds; although maintaining an underclass of penal laborers carries serious risks, which Hythloday will be at pains to deny. Regarding the relative justice of this penal code, conclusions have also been enthusiastically drawn.[152] William Bright wrote in his commonplace book (compiled between 1644 and 1676) that the punishment "for thieves among ye Polylerites is approved of very well."[153] The consensus that the Polylerite code "embodies a sensible view of the legitimate aims of punishment . . . to rehabilitate the criminal and to redress the damage done by his crime," as Logan has written, continues to predominate.[154] The 1556 index concurred, and in fact may have bolstered this ongoing interpretation, by pointing readers decisively to this passage as "the right end and intent of punishment."[155] Punishment's "right end and intent" points up another of the book's most eloquent phrases, which commends the Polylerites for the humane aims of their punishments, which "intendeth nothinge elles, but the destruction of vices, and the savinge of menne: with so using, and ordering them, that they can not chuse but be good."[156] Although leaving offenders no choice "but be good" might seem insincere, readers have tended to focus on the first phrase, while leaving aside the second half of the sentence. *Stanleyes Remedy* does precisely this: "The right end and intent of punishing of Rogues, is but the destruction of vices, and saving of men."[157]

In the surrounding details, however, it begins to feel as though the policies of Hythloday's Polylerites were actually being ironized. First, so little is said about the annual chance at parole offered to these offenders that one might suspect their sentences are intended to be perpetual, as in Hythloday's description of ancient Rome—and the marginal index contributes to this impression by mislabeling and highlighting perpetual servitude as "What lawfull punishment may be devised for theft" and "How the Romaines punished thefte" ("there to be kepte in cheines

all the days of their life"), then misdirecting readers to the "worthy and commendable punishment of theves in the weale publique of the Polylerites in Persia" at that same locale.[158] "This system does not fully embody Hythloday's point that the severity of punishment ought to be proportional to the degree of heinousness of the crime," Logan notes: "all thefts of whatever kind or size appear to be punished by perpetual bondage."[159] This is not entirely so, at least not in the later aside about the annual chance at parole. But should the thief of a loaf of bread who has made restitution to its owner still be forced to serve at a minimum a yearlong sentence, and perhaps a perpetual one? The quality of the punishment (labor rather than death) is better proportioned. But the quantity (a year, or a lifetime) is not. Although these objections do not appear to have unsettled Bright or Stanley, the point would not have been lost on anyone in England in the sixteenth and seventeenth century. As a punishment for minor crimes administered at Bridewell, for example, hard labor usually lasted for a few days or weeks, not years, unless an offender was taken on as a longer-term apprentice.[160]

There are other reasons to question the sincerity of Hythloday's counterproposal. As part of his assurances that penal laborers are kept under careful control, means of maintaining their obedience are described. Offenders are forbidden from touching money or weapons on the pain of death, and it is forbidden for the laborers of different districts to speak or even look at one another (thereby to conspire); furthermore, rewards are offered to informers and punishments threatened against rebels.[161] But these precautions are, as A. L. Beier notes, "absurdly unrealistic."[162] When was an uprising ever sanctioned? More impractical, and in an even more worrying regard, are the means of identifying and thereby controlling this class of penal servants—as underlined by Hind, and marked by a manicule in the Bodleian copy Tanner 66 (1).[163] Penal laborers are forced to wear robes of a specific color, given a certain "roundying" haircut, and have their ears clipped in a certain way: "the type of the one eare is cut of."[164] The text continues: "Neither they can have any hope at all to skape away by flienge. For how should a man, that in no parte of his apparel is like other men, flye prevelie and unknowen, oneles he would runne away naked? Howebeit so also flyinge he shoulde be discrived by the roundying of his heade, and his eare marke."[165] These assurances may again seem to be relatively empty ones. Clothes can be changed, and anyone who could find a hat or grow their hair longer than their ears could mask the signs of their criminal brand, at least temporarily.

More destabilizing, however, would be the credulous conclusion. If it is meant to be believable that a clipped ear would always give the escaped slave away, how could anyone also believe in the possibility of their rehabilitation as

free citizens? Hythloday claims that none of the punished are "hopeles or in dispaire to recover againe his former estate of fredome, by humble obedience, by paciente sufferinge, and by geving good tokens and likelyhoode of himselfe, that he will ever after that, live like a trewe, and an honest man. For every yeare divers of them be restored to their freedome: throughe the commendation of their patience."[166] This is the utopian hope of repentance or amendment, the mercy of rehabilitation; true "patience" will commend itself and be commended.[167] But how will the offender return to life as a "trewe, and an honest" man, if he is so effectively and permanently branded as a criminal that he could never have had any hope to escape?[168] In his advocacy for houses of correction on a national scale, the Bridewell administrator Stanley (or those behind his pamphlet) pointed out precisely the same harsh reality in England: "such a note of infamie" as criminal branding in fact precluded offenders from ever reentering employment, "as they may be assured no man will set them on work."[169]

Cardinal Morton, Hythloday's fictional interlocutor in this conversation-within-a-conversation (but also More's real patron in childhood) remains open to the idea of Polylerite penology. He considers aloud ways to implement these policies in England and suggests that vagabonds be treated in the same way that the Polylerites treat thieves: "me thinketh that these vagaboundes may very wel be ordered after the same fashion, against whom we have hitherto made so manye lawes, and so little prevailed."[170] "Vagaboundes," the marginal index alerts readers.[171] The cardinal's sycophants agree, illustrating Hythloday's point about the futility of counsel. The cardinal's fool even takes the policy a step further, suggesting that hard labor might serve to help those demographics the margin indexes as the "Sicke, aged, impotent persons and beggers" in addition to thieves and vagabonds.[172] Why shouldn't all the miserable and needy be rounded up "sumwhere oute of my sight" in a kind of penal colony, yet within the city, the cardinal's jester asks.[173] This fool would "make a lawe, that all these beggers shall be distributed, and bestowed into houses of religion," since the monasteries were already such dens of iniquity.[174]

In cases such as these *Utopia*'s double-edged depictions might have held contained pleasures grounded in both recognition and ironic distance for early modern readers. Londoners would indeed have been familiar with the vagaries of criminal branding, which had been instituted in recent decades by repeated legislative acts—in 1531, 1536, 1547, and 1550, and continuing beyond 1593 and 1598, when ear-boring and ear-clipping were once again replaced with whipping as punishment for vagrancy—yet they also knew these policies stumbled in enforcement, presumably due to the difficulty of convincing local justices and

constables to impose such disfigurements on their neighbors.[175] Early readers could also have recognized Polylerite punishments in their own institution at Bridewell, with its whipping posts to inspire fear but rhetorical aspirations toward more humane conditions, with its laborers and craftsmen for hire, chain gangs and uneven attempts at uniforms; and yet with the important distinction that Bridewell's sentences were more proportioned to the crime and to the individual on a case-by-case basis, not universally or blindly applied. But perhaps most wittily ironic of all would have been this latest joke, placed in the mouth of Morton's moronic fool: this notion that friars were the worst of the vagabonds, and that the monasteries should be repurposed into public hospitals. What to More might have been a satirical criticism of the reformer's overzealousness had by the 1550s become reality: monasteries dissolved and remade into Christ's Hospital, Cardinal Wolsey's own palace at Bridewell remade into the house of correction, all thanks to the efforts of a generation of reformers who had printed their own *Utopia* along the way. Hind at least saw fit to notate this passage in 1571–72, and Bacon took triplicate note of it in his 1551 copy: "cardinalls fool" . . . "nota the begynge of" . . . "the geste of the cardinales Foole."[176]

Book II, *Utopia*: "How little liberte they have"

There are no prisons in Utopia itself, or in Book II. No jails, no houses of correction. U-*topos*, the good place (*eu-*) or nonplace (*ou-*) has hospitals, but no explicitly carceral institutions.[177] None are needed, it seems. For punishment Utopia consigns offenders to varying sentences of public labor, to be completed in the open air, without the imposition of walls or institutions, alongside Utopia's other slaves or bondmen—those foreigners who have either volunteered themselves as laborers or been taken as prisoners in war. As another version of a penal code wherein work serves as the primary punishment, the Utopian order reflects that of the Polylerites (and indeed, practices enacted at Bridewell), although with the additional and more explicit distinction that in Utopia (as at Bridewell) "the decerning of punishment" is "putte to the discretion of the magistrates," the marginal index points out, rather than existing as any universal norm.[178] In fact, since Utopia has so few laws, there is "no prescript punishmente" appointed for any crime at all, except adultery: All adulterers are punished with enslavement, or, as the 1602 hand in Princeton's 1556 edition comments: "Breakers of wedlock punished with most grievous Bondage[.]"[179] Instead of a "pre-script" penal code, "according to the heinousenes of the offense, "the punishemente is moderated by

the discretion of the counsell" on a case-by-case basis.[180] Utopia's more proportionate punishments act as a foil for England's previous status quo but also give credence to the argument that the Polylerite system (itself part of More's textual correction or dilation) was partly ironized. The hypocrisies and impracticalities of criminal branding, for example, are not mentioned in Book II. And yet there are other, even graver ethical contradictions implied by Utopia's indistinct systems of slavery and penal slavery—though these contradictions were not noticed by the 1556 index, and though these ethical difficulties did not stop reformers such as those behind these editions from attempting to legislate and enact similar policies, in the 1547 vagrancy act, or later in the house of correction.

At first Utopian punishments appear primarily correctional. Only the most serious crimes are punished publicly in Utopia, and never by death or simple confinement. Instead, in a reformulation of the argument from Book I, Utopians punish severe crimes "with the incommoditie of bondage," for

> that they suppose to be to the offender no lesse griefe, and to the common wealth more profit, then if they should hastely put them to death . . . For there cummeth more profit of theire laboure, then of theire deathe, and by theire example they feare other the lenger from like offenses. But if they beinge thus used, doo rebell and kicke againe, then forsothe they be slaine as desperate and wilde beastes, whom neither prison [*carcer*] nor chaine coude restraine and kepe under. But they whiche take their bondage patientlye be not lefte all hopeles. For after they have bene broken and tamed with longe miseries, if then they shewe such repentaunce [*poenitentiam*], wherebye it maye bee perceaved that they be sorier for theire offense [*peccatum*] then for theire punishemente [*poenam*]: sumtimes by the Princes perogative, and sumtimes by the voice and consent of the people, theire bondage either is mitigated, or else cleane released and forgiven.[181]

Utopian punishments extract maximal utility and benefit, for the individual but especially for society. Offenders are remade as labor for the public good as well as continuing examples for general deterrence—not wasted in the flash of a spectacular execution, but laboring as a daily reminder. The ultimate end would be not only retribution or social utility, however, but reintegration into society, or at least to confirm that offenders are "broken and tamed."[182] It could even seem that Hythloday describes Utopia's penal bondage "as a progressive form of individual improvement and social control," and "a positive, virtue-instilling

institution . . . that existed as much to redeem wayward individuals as it did to punish them," Michael Guasco has written.[183]

But the text's idealist rhetoric is belied by its own details. Even more so than among the Polylerites, the actual possibility of correctional rehabilitation—or breaking and "taming"—appears to be undermined.[184] For example, in Utopia the task of butchering animals is reserved "for the hands of theire bondemen."[185] Any distinction in More's Latin between the bondsmen [*famuli*] mentioned here and the slaves or servants [*servi*] described elsewhere is obscured by Robinson's "bondage" and "bondmen" (perhaps since it is obscured in More's text as well, where the *famuli* are later called *servi* when it is noted that they also do the hunting).[186] "For they permitte not their frie citezens to accustome them selfes to the killing of beastes, through the use whereof they thinke, clemencye the genteleste affection of oure nature by litle and litle to decaye and peryshe."[187] Utopians do not allow their free citizens to hunt or slaughter animals because they believe this practice habituates the hunter or butcher to inhumanity, corrupting by "litle and litle" their moral character.[188] Instead they reserve this necessary task for their "bondmen."[189] Pudsey wrote in his commonplace book near 1600: "Bondemen are appointed butchers & not free citizens, lest thorough the use there of, clemency shold by little & little perish."[190] But what about the opposing effect? Given that the Utopians believe their tasks will degrade rather than improve their character, correction seems unlikely. In fact, all corrupting, shameful labors and "base business" are reserved for those in bondage: "al vile service, al slavery, and drudgerie, with all laboursome toile, & base busines [*sordis laboris*] is done by bondemen [*servi*]."[191] Or as Pudsey wrote, "the basest part of butchery . . . they leave to their bondmen."[192] Even the marginal index marks this poignant verso to the humanist belief in the improvability and malleability of human character: "Of the slaughter of beastes we have learned manslaughter."[193] Violence can be acquired. Admitting this, the Utopian penal system must maintain only a conditional hope for reformation, when those committing the most violent offenses are condemned to labors that, according to Utopia's own beliefs, will encourage violence. Utopian penal service may have been "ideally a temporary condition for the enslaved," as Guasco writes, but in practice it would have tended to be otherwise, as the text itself and its 1556 apparatus slyly admits.[194]

Neither is Utopian bond-slavery as humane as it pretends to be. In fact, in the details, Utopian bondage seems to be equally as punitive as Utopian penal service. For example, Hythloday's claim that many a "vile drudge" or "poore laborer in an other country" has volunteered for the fair and humane slavery of Utopia over their own destitute freedom is belied by the experience of the Anemolian

ambassadors, who were assumed to be slaves by the Utopians when they arrived festooned in golden chains, and were ridiculed as such.[195] This suggests that even the bonds of *eu*-topian slavery connote dishonor and are psychologically punitive. This irony was noted by Pudsey: "Ynfamous persons & bondmen wear in their ears & on their fingers rings of gold about their necks chaines & on their legs gyves[.]"[196] Stephen Greenblatt agrees that slavery in Utopia "functions not only as a penal and economic institution but as an extreme form of shaming" and notes the degrading and self-perpetuating aspects of Utopian slavery as a "chilling" feature of More's fiction.[197] The text's distinction between noncitizen "drudges" and citizen penal drudges did not appear relevant in 1605 to a reader in Princeton's 1556 copy, who noted that "ther owne they punish" even more "sevearly" than they do their foreign slaves, implying that slavery of either sort was punishing.[198] Nevertheless this degrading system of slavery was enthusiastically embraced in the margins of the 1556 edition, whose index notes as "A mervelous equitie of this nation" the practices of Utopian slavers, who only "make bondemen of prisoners taken in battaile" under certain circumstances, who never acquire children, and much prefer to purchase for "very litle" foreign criminals condemned to death.[199] These bondmen they keep "not onely in continual woorke and labour, but also in bandes" alongside their own native criminals, who they think have deserved the "greater punishment" of such enslavement for having erred despite being brought up "so godlye" in Utopia.[200] Penal servants are "kept in continuall labour," the 1605 hand in Princeton's 1556 copy notes.[201]

There are therefore several reasons to wonder what the actual difference would be within this distinction between, on the one hand, Utopian penal servitude, which—despite its correctional rhetoric—would be nearly as permanent as Utopian slavery proper; and on the other hand, Utopian slavery, which—despite its humanitarian claims—would be nearly as punitive as Utopian penal service. Utopia "maintains itself by means of a dismal penal code that hardly improves on the unfair laws of England," Walter Gordon comments.[202] But at this point a common caveat about slavery in Utopia must be considered. Neither form of Utopia's penal nor chattel slavery is hereditary; neither forms a caste. No one in Utopia is born a slave. It is this regard in which Utopian slavery has often been said to be less arbitrary (although by no means a "mervelous equitie" as the 1556 index put it) than many of the historical forms of slavery that come most readily to mind, especially after race-based slavery in the transatlantic world, whose horrors have tilted the very definition of slavery, Orlando Patterson notes.[203] If one pauses, however, and imagines the ends and consequences of this thought-model, as is required of any reader of *Utopia*, this objection does not stand. Say

one does believe that Utopia's practices rely on nothing like a caste system; yet it must also be admitted that Utopia relies heavily on its slave labor, as is apparent on any first reading, and as Guasco's attentions have recently emphasized.[204] Precisely because Utopian slavery is *not* hereditary, then, one can see that it will need to be self-perpetuating in other ways, with other consequences. First, Utopia's magistrates will be motivated to keep their penal slaves in permanent bondage, rather than to seek their rehabilitation or recognize their parole. Second, peace-loving and freedom-loving Utopia will always need more slaves, new slaves—it will therefore need more criminals, or more prisoners of war. Utopia will be motivated to conduct foreign conquests, or, like those so-called people of much nonsense the Polylerites, Utopia will be motivated to find criminals to punish, if its society is to survive, or exist, so structured.

Or perhaps what Utopia would require is simply a body of ever-more slave-like citizens. In fact, the carceral foundations of Utopian discipline can be located paradoxically in the lives of their general citizenry, rather than their slaves or criminals; not in their public institutions but in their nonprivate homes, and not only in their closely monitored control but in the forced migrations of their entire social body. In Utopia doors can hardly be closed, let alone locked. "These doors be made with two leaves, never locked nor bolted, so easie to be opened, that they wil follow the least drawying of a finger."[205] Since their doors open at the touch of a finger, "there is nothinge within the houses that is private."[206] These uncloseable doors serve as a perfect emblem for the reverse liberty More has depicted and ironized throughout Utopian society and his dialogic text; with nowhere to hide, Utopians can have nothing to hide. Furthermore, in yet another hair-splittingly ironic arrangement, recalling the Utopian approach to suicide (forbidden) and euthanasia (encouraged), or to work (enjoyed by citizens) and degrading work (enjoyed by slaves), while "free" Utopians are moved from household to household every ten years, and from town to town interchangeably, unsanctioned travel is gravely punished—not on the pain of death, of course, but of penal slavery. Free Utopians move constantly in intervals at the will of the magistrates: "Every tenthe yeare they chaunge ther houses" notes one hand in Princeton's 1556 copy.[207] Yet roaming or vagrant Utopians are held in bondage. It might be said that this policy is primarily intended to interrupt ties between people and possessions or places, but it would also seem to produce within the Utopian citizenry the alienation from genealogical social life that Patterson argued is a defining feature of slavery.[208] Certainly the one thing that follows every Utopian is work: "If they stay above a day they fall to their occupations," the 1605 hand commented on this passage in Princeton's copy.[209]

Stanley's tract suggests that one of the benefits of building up workhouses across the country would be to form a system within which laborers could move or be moved about the country, and yet "repaire every days journey to one of the work-houses, and there be honestly lodged, and staying there two or three dayes, they may earne money by their work, to earne them to another work-house, and so forwards to the place they would repaire, without being distressed, or wanting relief, or troubling the Constables."[210]

Utopian panopticism extends from their fields and halls even into their homes, where all citizens are constantly "in the present light, and under the eyes of every man": "Now you se how little liberte they have . . . howe they can have no cloke or pretence to idleness. There be neither winetavernes, nor ale houses, nor stewes, nor anye occasion of vice or wickedness, no lurkinge corners, no places of wicked counsels or unlawfull assembles. But they be in the present lighte, and under the eyes of every man."[211] There is even some suggestion that Utopia polices thoughts and desires, since their penal code punishes "motions" to crimes as harshly as the crimes themselves; as one skeptical reader marked, in the single marginal note left in one 1556 copy held by the British Library, partially cropped: "this is to mak[e] all sinnes equa[l] disapooved" . . . "concerning theif[es] / & murderers."[212] That More's *Utopia*—itself an extended and exceptionally provocative thought—should describe a society in which intentions are condemned as criminal actions is an exemplary instance of the text's ironic stance. In Fredric Jameson's description, the tradition of utopian texts inaugurated so satirically here can most usefully be understood as "maps and plans to be read negatively," to locate sources of suffering and exploitation in their own historical contexts.[213] Therefore "the best Utopias are those that fail most comprehensively," because such fictions "can serve the negative purpose of making us more aware of our mental and ideological imprisonment."[214]

But if this sort of critique was More's purpose, it was not entirely his effect, for his model was enthusiastically positioned and earnestly received. "O holy commonwealth, and of Christians to be folowed," according to the marginal note for the above passage, in both the 1556 and early Latin editions.[215] "No alehouses nor wine tauvernes" repeats the most diligent reader of Princeton's 1556 edition, beneath this indexical mark.[216] As it so happens the remarkably careful records left by this reader—who dates two series of notations particularly focused on idleness as beginning on "December 4, 160[2]" and on "January 16, 1602"—display an unusual level of interaction not only with the text but with the 1556 index as well.[217] One of the most heavily annotated spreads in this entire copy is found on these pages, where the discussion of idleness is helpfully divided by the marginal

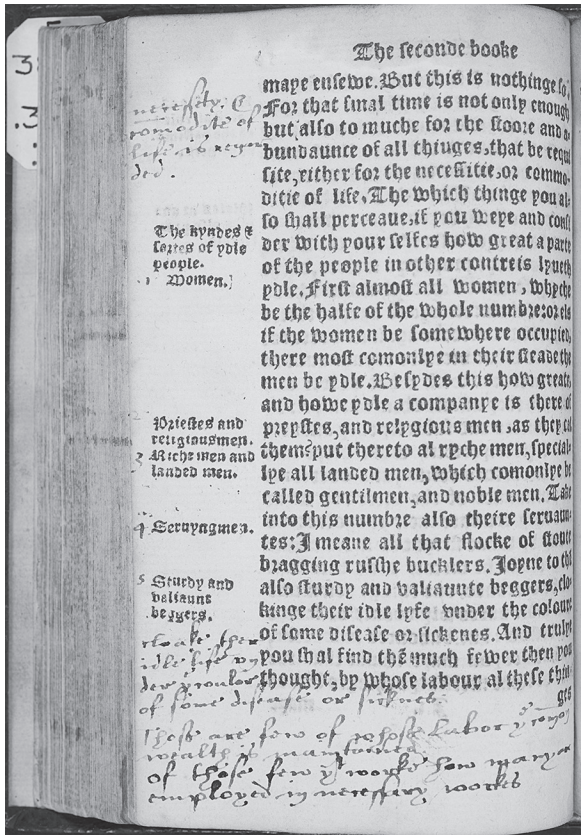

The seconde booke
maye ensewe. But this is nothinge so
For that smal time is not only enough
but also to muche for the moste and
bundaunce of all thinges, that be requi
site, either for the necessitie, or commo
ditie of life. The which thinge you al
so shall perceaue, if you wey and cons
der with your selfes how great a parte
of the people in other contreis lyueth
vdle. First almost all women, whyche
be the halfe of the whole numbre: or els
if the women be somewhere occupied,
there most comonlye in their steade the
men be vdle. Besydes this how greate
and howe vdle a companye is there of
preystes, and religious men, as they cal
them? put thereto al ryche men, specia
lye all landed men, which comonlye be
called gentilmen, and noble men. Ad
into this numbre also theire seruaun
tes: I meane all that flocke of lous
bragging russhe bucklers. Ioyne to thi
also sturdy and valiaunte beggers, cha
unge their idle lyfe vnder the colour
of some disease or sickenes. And truly
you shal find thē much fewer then you
thought, by whose labour al these thin
Women.
Priestes and religiousmen.
Riche men and landed men.
Seruyngmen.
Sturdy and valiaunt beggers.

Figure 3. Princeton University Library, EX 3865.5.392.83.12, J^{v}. An example of the annotator's use of the printed marginal index to categorize "The kindes & sortes of idle people." Elsewhere the reader dates their annotations "December 4, 160[2]" and "January 16, 1602." Courtesy of Princeton University Library.

index into "The kindes & sortes of idle people."[218] The manuscript annotator then adds a number, next to each stereotype of idleness: "Women" (1), "Priestes and religousmen" (2), "Riche men and landed men" (3), "Servyingmen" (4), and "Sturdy and valiaunt beggers" (5).[219] "Set all to work on profitable occupations," the reader's notes conclude, after a copying out a long sequence mostly verbatim from the body text, arranged along the numbered index in this enthusiastically crammed margin.[220] But perhaps the best evidence for the topical importance of the matter of work-discipline to this reader, as well as the shaping influence of this particular edition's apparatus, can be found in the flyleaves at the end of the book. There, the 1602 reader, acting as his or her own corrector, has created his or her own supra- or meta-index: a final index to the marginal index. A heading for the text's policies "Against idleness" is followed by page numbers for finding

the passages just described, containing this ladder of carefully annotated indexical markers, as well as other pages where this particular polemic strain, "Against idleness," continues.[221]

Conclusion

This chapter has turned to an unusual but highly relevant text to understand the complicated cultural moment from which England's first house of correction emerged. By closely reexamining the Robinson translation of *Utopia*, its editorial positioning, and some of its users' responses in relation to a phenomenon in English policy and institutions already called "the More tradition," this chapter lends support to the claim that More's text became representative of the new emphasis on linking punishment to labor and to common utility, or the essential idea "that it was better both for the condemned criminals themselves and for the state if they were set to work for the public good," in Davies's paraphrase.[222] While Mary Nyquist has recently argued that *Utopia* gave the concept of penal service "new found respect" more generally, this effect was amplified through the increasingly unironic presentation of the English editions of the 1550s, in particular, I add.[223] By tracing the less ironic presentation, reception, and recontextualization of such ideas in and around the 1551 and 1556 editions, this chapter has sought to construct a better understanding of how exactly it was that schemes so similar to *Utopia*'s rhetorical and even satirical models could have "found their way into" earnest laws and institutions around this time, to use Beier's phrasing.[224] In sum, *Utopia* offers multiple, negative examples, which it plays off one another, ostensibly as a means of imagining emendations to society's actual faults; especially in the voice of Hythloday, the text then advances a powerful argument for correctional punishments, perhaps even the most radical critique of the penal status quo circulating in England at that time. But the ironies of the counterproposals, their consequences, and their satirical tones, if intended by More to hedge against his characters' arguments, did not appear to succeed in giving readers much pause, at least not among those whose presences can still be traced in the 1550s Robinson editions, or among the network of civic reformers who stood behind those books and the most comparable of institutions and policies, such as the vagrancy statute of 1547–49.[225]

The failure of that "utopian" law seems to have imparted an important lesson of its own, this chapter has also argued—a lesson distinct, but not unrelated, to

those taught by the thought-models of *Utopia*.[226] Guasco observes that Englishmen such as Ralph Robinson, Thomas Smith, and others appear to have realized that while penal enslavement had "no place" in early modern England, another system of penal labor, or a "system of human bondage founded on progressive, redemptive ideals" could nevertheless prove "tantalizing."[227] The house of correction was just such a system. Bridewell became the actual, ambiguous "no place" where those ideas would be experimented with in practice, "for there cummeth more profit of theire laboure, than of theire deathe," as Robinson's translation put it.[228] *Utopia*'s rhetorical exchange between more proportionate punishments and more productive laborers continued to be one of the text's most popular ideas, even as the house of correction's own practical history made it clearer and clearer that those arguments were again simply a means of building consent for a system like that described by Guasco, in which "human bondage" was achieved through "progressive ideals."[229]

But *Utopia* was always also more than politics by another means, and more than an intervention in humanist moral philosophy as well. The text's ironies sharply criticize the culture of civic and Christian humanist interventionism in which *Utopia* might appear to participate, especially, as I have argued here, through the text's ongoing critique of humanist reading practices—commonplacing, most of all, as a metonym for humanism's emphasis on the ready application of learning and rhetoric in civic contexts. By manipulating the ironic gaps within and between humanist interpretive practices, the "no place" of *Utopia* offsets itself against the application of its ideas to ethical questions in the world, despite what the margins of the 1556 edition might have sought, and seemingly despite the poetics of speculative fiction the text in other ways inaugurates. *Utopia* is composed to encourage multiple readings by encouraging multiple *ways* of reading; the book offers up extractable commonplace arguments while making fools of those who would indeed take them out of context.

This enacted component of the text's *ethopoeia*—inspiring others to repeat or personate its own arguments while also exposing them to criticism for doing so—was yet another self-conscious aspect of the text. In More's letter to Peter Giles, which prefaces both the 1551 and 1556 editions as one of the editorial paratexts that blend More's actual network of humanist correspondents with his fictional interlocutors such as Hythloday, a lengthy diatribe criticizes the habits of various readers. "To saye the verye truth, I am not yet fully determined with myselfe, whether I will put furth my booke or no," More as the narrator claims: "For the natures of men be so divers, the phantasies of some so wayward, their mindes so unkinde, their judgements so corrupte."[230] Some readers

are so paranoid that they appear to fear violence from sharp words, More claims: "Some poor soules be so aferd that at every snappishe worde theire nose shalbe bitten of, that they stande in no less drede of every quicke and sharpe worde, then he that is a bitten of a mad dogge feareth water."[231] Others are so dangerously impressionable that their opinion can be changed between sitting down and standing up: "Some be so mutable and waverying, that every houre they be in a newe minde, saying one thinge sittinge, and an other thinge standing."[232] Nevertheless, More requests that Giles submit his book to the correction of the fictional Hythloday, if he can find him, and supposes now that the manuscript is written to leave the decision about its print publication up to him: "For if I have missed or failed in anye pointe, or if any faulte have escaped me, no man can so well correcte and amende it, as he can: and yet that he can not do, oneles he peruse, and reade over my book written."[233] More posits his text as one that must remain under correction indefinitely, awaiting the authorization of its fictive source who will surely "correcte and amende it," while at the same time existing in a form to be perused and read over, as a "book written."[234] The readers of the book who are considering not only More's letter but Book I and II of *Utopia* are thus encouraged to think of the text as a provisional or errant one, circulating before or despite Hythloday's correction; yet readers are also placed in Hythloday's correctional position, evaluating "any faulte" in need of being "correcte[d] and amende[d]," whether in the text or in the proxy societies it describes.[235]

These invocations of the culture of correction or the reader's amending hand are another means for *Utopia* to mark its awareness of the ethos of the readership it imagines, but also to remark upon that culture as one that may be particularly apt to take the text's arguments too seriously or too far. This may after all be exactly what happened in the case of the text's double-edged ideas about crime and punishment, which offer what might seem like humane, rational, sensible reforms, but which are linked to proposals whose details, it turns out, ironically or even satirically, would tend toward the reproduction of circumstances that are not only negative and undesirable but so pervasively similar to those the text criticizes as to be undeniably a "faulte."[236] This final irony plays upon, engages, and activates the implied, correctional culture of *Utopia*'s readership, cautioning against the application of the same arguments it seems to advance. Just as Jameson argues that utopian fictions today serve a "negative purpose" in making readers aware of their own "ideological imprisonment," in early modern England, More's *Utopia* seems to have succeeded most in communicating its indictment of the moral and practical failures of England's ancient criminal statutes and its extant poor laws, alongside or even more than its (now) famous critiques of

private property.[237] *Utopia*'s rhetorical exchanges between more proportionate punishments and more productive laborers continued to be some of the text's most popular ideas, evidenced nowhere more fully than in the design and practice of the house of correction, in which "progressive ideals" were nevertheless yoked to a system that perpetuated a different version of "human bondage," to quote Guasco again.[238] What was not and has not yet been fully registered, but what this chapter has also attempted to show, was *Utopia*'s subtler warning not only against the emergence of carceral humanism but against the potential complicity of the culture of correction, even within its own readership—a readership so invested in the practical application of rhetorical eloquence and the civic possibilities of humanist culture that it would read for those arguments without considering their limits or full implications quite carefully enough.

CHAPTER 2

"The House of Correction, is the School of Instruction"

Richard Grafton and the Institutional Culture of English Humanism

Making Correction

On December 16, 1556, shortly after Richard Grafton was reelected as treasurer-general of both Bridewell and Christ's Hospital on November 25, a woman with the surname Norton was punished at the house of correction and afterward "sent unto the Pillorye in Chepe with a paper on her hed, whereon was written in greate letters Whipped at Bridewell for Leavyinge and forsaking her childe in the streates."[1] The court book describes how "a woman named . . . Norton . . . dwellinge in Southwerke,"

> . . . for leavynge and forsakinge
> of a childe in the streates shulde be whipped att
> Bridewell, and from thence sent unto the governors
> of Christes hospital for a further reformacon
> whiche thinge beinge done she was sent unto the
> Pillorye in Chepe with a paper on her hed, wheron
> was written in greate letters Whipped at Bridewell
> for Leavynge and forsaking her childe in the streates.[2]

The punishments inflicted on Norton involved old forms of violence, new institutions, and an unusual use of language. This nexus casts the contradictions of

carceral humanism into sharp relief. Whipping and public shaming were common practice, and neither Bridewell nor Christ's Hospital was above the use of such tactics—indeed, neither were the Tudor grammar schools, where beatings remained common aspects of humanist pedagogy. On the other hand, the involvement of both Bridewell and Christ's Hospital "for a further reformacon" also demonstrates the paradigm shift toward coordinated institutions that shared the new justificatory aim of reform.[3] But then there is the punitive use of these documents, both the slip of paper where punishment and crime alike were "written in greate letters" as a discursive form of criminal branding, and the entry in the archive itself, where those same ends are achieved more implicitly.[4] These uses of language make the hollow cruelty of carceral humanism resound. As we shall see in this chapter, a reformer such as Richard Grafton might have been found engaged in any number of admirable enterprises, including taking in orphans at Christ's Hospital, overseeing a rigorous school, and printing books meant to promote vernacular culture. But at the house of correction, and in coordination with Christ's Hospital, he could also be found persecuting the mother of that same child, devising a text such as "Whipped at Bridewell" to be fixed to her "hed" for further shame, even while the court books describe the purpose of these punishments as "further reformacon."[5]

The hospitals' abuses drew upon humanist ideals and their status as humanist institutions, using aspirations toward individual and societal improvement to justify and expand practices that were as cruel and corruptible and arguably only more hypocritical than anything that had come before. The contradictions were internal, I argue, rather than more readily explicable as a gap between idealistic theory and institutional practice or between persuasive ruse and political reality. Support for this claim can be found in the emphasis Grafton and his cohort placed on the practical effects of their own intellectual and social programs. The civic and Christian humanism in which Grafton was partaking, and which helped build Bridewell, emphasized Ciceronian ideals of engagement that would be based on an educated citizenship.[6] This culture ranked *negotium* over *otium*, placed a high value on practical wisdom or *phronesis*, and emphasized not only instruction in moral virtue but its enactment—translated as simply "work" in Grafton's edition of Aristotle's *Nichomachean Ethics*: "knowledge sufficeth not, without worke" when it comes to virtue, "for to knowe withoute worke it availeth not."[7] Grafton's edition became the first printed English translation of a text that for centuries has shaped ideas about the enacted behaviors that channel human morality, but also about the remediation of morality and ethos through actions, behaviors, and habits—ideas that stood at the very core of institutions

such as the house of correction or Christ's Hospital, and remain central in disciplinary culture to this day.[8] "The man that dooth evil and repenteth him not, can not be correct, but the man that doeth evill and repenteth, there is hope," according to the 1547 translation and perhaps transvaluation of the Aristotelian text.[9] This humane "hope" did not preclude but rather justified the use of physical pain and shame alongside slower methods of labor; Aristotle's precepts go on to describe those who lessons or "woordes" cannot correct, who should instead be brought to penitence "by paine."[10] After all, "it is not possible for theim that bee hardened in malice to be corected by words," according to Aristotle's treatise in Grafton's printing.[11]

This chapter seeks to understand the disciplinary experiments undertaken at Bridewell and Christ's Hospital in the context of their shared administration and intellectual culture, as represented by the practices, printed works, and even the professional vocation of Richard Grafton himself, as a publisher and historian who served not only as a governor and as the hospitals' first treasurer-general but ultimately became these institutions' earliest chronicler.[12] Two questions organize the interdisciplinary undertaking of this chapter. How did corporal punishment function within the vocational curriculum at both Christ's Hospital and Bridewell? What was the role of humanist language practices in both those institutions? While addressing those questions as matters of central importance to the arguments of this book in general, I will also advance a more idiosyncratic claim about the humanist culture of correction, or the underlying habits and norms that inhere in language practices, and which Grafton's professions as printer and compiler of chronicle records help bring to light.[13] I will argue that linguistic correction—the rhetorical and material practices of the schoolroom and the printshop, continuing in the ethos of readers' self-correction—helped mediate and shape the normative culture of English humanism, which in turn helped shape the practices of these new institutions, including the house of correction. I do not mean to place the culture of correction in competition with larger forces, such as the demands of political economy, the teachings of scripture, or the direct aspects of carceral humanism that will can be witnessed at both Christ's Hospital and Bridewell as well as in the writings of humanist pedagogues such as Roger Ascham, Richard Mulcaster, and John Brinsley; although, in the rhetorical culture of early modern England, in which we should not forget that correction, *correctio* or metanoia was itself a figure of speech, the work of language was more important than many modern readers might assume. Making correction ought to be recognized, I argue, as another, secondary means of materializing and mediating those complex, well-studied, and sometimes conflicting

larger forces and discourses, including the Protestant ethic and the humanist drive for individual and societal improvement.[14]

This chapter thereby expands upon revisionist accounts of the impact of Christian humanism in early modern England in two ways. First, whereas previous scholarship has thoroughly studied how "Tudor schools instilled a new disciplinary economy in their subjects," to quote Richard Halpern, this chapter shifts its focus to the conjoined hospital-schools and workhouses that openly strove to instill such a disciplinary economy not in princes or even future lawyers, merchants, and magistrates but among their servants and the poorest of the poor, including women and orphaned children.[15] Carceral humanism was already underway, using the rhetorical aims of education and individual improvement to support these experimental institutions and thus expanding the disciplinary capacity of the commonwealth. Second, this chapter will also turn toward some of the subtler ways in which "humanism enables the schooled subject to desire his own ideological subordination," as Halpern once articulated a fundamental problem, which post-Foucauldian efforts at intellectual un-disciplining continue to unwind.[16] Thus this chapter examines not only correctional and educational institutions alongside one another but also the norm that is correction itself, including the minutiae of some of its least controversial means of ethos-shaping: creating and correcting lessons, texts, and books; creating and improving access to literacy, knowledge, and thereby promulgating the shared norms on which a society or its discipline is built.

In early modern England, in a culture that understood both authority and radical potential to inhere in the written word, and especially within the intellectual subculture of civic and Christian humanism, with its emphases on the applicability of the literary arts, practical *phronesis*, and the enactment of moral virtue, making correction was a form of embodied thought, worth studying alongside the classical and scriptural texts that have already been central to intellectual history, but also alongside other material practices, such as vocational literacy at Christ's Hospital and even forced labor at the house of correction, which have largely been excluded from those histories. Whether these habits were willing or unwilling, significant or seemingly insignificant, they were meant to be ways of shaping ethos. Grafton would certainly have recognized this in the middle years of the 1550s, as he moved between his errands at Bridewell and Christ's Hospital, overseeing the accounts of the school and the prison, deciding punishments and directing his beadles in the streets, all the while responsible for producing several of the most important texts in the history of the English reformation (at least until he handed down his types and presses to his son-in-law, Richard Tottel, and

turned his attentions more fully to the hospitals and his history books, no doubt still stopping at Tottel's shop to see his own works through the press). Following Grafton's footsteps, this chapter will not only describe carryings-over from the classrooms of Christ's Hospital into the workrooms of Bridewell or vice versa, but also examine how language and linguistic practices functioned as a shaping medium for new cultural norms, from the printing house to readers and from classrooms to new carceral institutions as well.

Grafton and the Politics of Interdisciplinary Historiography

First of all, there are good reasons to consider these several, different institutions alongside one another, despite how jarring the comparisons might seem. They were designed to function together, as the original governors, including Grafton, explained. "The way and mean to remedy" the crisis of poverty in London, according to the hospital's 1557 *Ordinances and rules*, was "first, to train up the beggar's child in virtuous exercise, that of him should spring no more beggars," and "last of all, to force and compel the idle strumpet and vagabond to honest and virtuous exercise . . . so that the lewd and idle sort should remain in Bridewell to labour."[17] The same "virtuous exercise" would train the children of the poor at Christ's Hospital and compel "the lewd and idle" at the house of correction in this comprehensive approach to improving the discipline of the populace.[18] Grafton lived this reality, but he also explained the thinking behind this approach in his earliest *An abridgement of the chronicles of England, gathered by Richard Grafton, citizen of London* (1562/63), in which he describes "three degrees of poore people" ("the sick and aged," "the infant and fatherless," and "the sturdy vagabond and idle") to be handled by three institutions: St. Thomas, Christ's Hospital, and Bridewell.[19] "And the reason that moved them to the errecion of the said howses" was a holistic approach to reformation, Grafton comments, beginning with the orphanage and school at Christ's Hospital: "firste to take the childe out of the street which was the seede and increaser of beggary, by reason of idle bringing up, and to norishe the same childe, in some good learning and exercise, profitable to the common weale."[20] By addressing poverty early, even nourishing abandoned children with "good learning" and "exercise," Grafton's cohort sought to prevent future strains on the resources of the commonwealth.[21] The rationale given for Bridewell was equally clear: "To compel the idle strompet, vagabond, and ruffian by force of punishment to labour for their living."[22] For contrast, consider Grafton's rival, John Stow, whose account is

much more sparse (even in his "newly corrected and enlarged" edition of 1570) and makes no such imputations of motive: "The Lorde Mayor of London was sent for to the court by the kinges counsel, and there at that time the kings majestie gave to him for to be a worke house for the poore and idle persones of the citie of London, his place of Bridewell."[23] Although Grafton does not declare his personal involvement, the interest taken and the surmise regarding motive ("And the reason that moved them to the errecion of the said howses") reveals the perspective of his chronicle; in expanded versions, Grafton offers further details that make his own proximity clearer.[24]

There are also good reasons to consider Grafton's civic projects and his publications alongside one another, despite the different nature of their impacts. Grafton's own texts insist on being understood this way. Thomas Norton, in a preface Grafton surely approved, promoted Grafton's histories as a continuation of the work begun by his municipal undertakings as well as by the many "good books by him published"; Grafton's chronicles are presented as another means of contributing to the improvement of a godly commonwealth by consolidating "profitable knowledge" where there had been "error," and thus "doing good to London, Englande and Christianitie."[25] Modern scholars have tended to agree with Norton in an ironic way. Whereas Grafton's competitor, Stow, has come to be seen as the early progenitor of an objective, disinterested, rigorous (and religiously conservative) approach to historiography, Grafton has been regarded as typifying an evangelical reformer's overeagerness to shape historical information toward those "good lessons & examples" that might best "traine subjects" in obedience and in the service of the commonwealth.[26] In Grafton's chronicles, "the familiar humanist claim of history's exemplary value is turned explicitly to political ends," David Kastan comments; Grafton's abridgements "all too enthusiastically serve the needs of the nation, subordinating historical data to political doctrine."[27] In the prefatory epistle to his *Abridgment of the chronicles of England* (1563), Grafton himself claims that the "chiefest" reason for studying history is that "the examples in times passed are good lessons for time to come."[28] Stow's punning, ad hominem attacks on Grafton ("the thundring noise of empty tonnes, and unfruitfull graffes") derive an insult from the idea that a so-called Renaissance man with this particular portfolio (writer, printer, historian, governor of the house of correction) has himself "committee[d] so great errors and so many, that he himself had nede of a correcter, and the truthe of a newe laborer."[29] (Of course, Stow's rejoinder offers his own *Summarie* for "the amendemente of such grosse errors," though he, too, begs his readers to correct his texts in as "friendly" and pedagogical a manner as they can manage: "I beseche

thee to judge favourably, and to correct frendly, so as thy correction maye rather be an Instruction then a condemning of me," concludes his preface of 1565.[30]) But what might be seen by modern historians and even by his own contemporaries as Grafton's failures to separate his politics from his printed works or his civic initiatives from his historiographical ones are only further reasons why this chapter seeks to bring these projects back into one frame of reference.

Finally, there are also good reasons to position a seemingly unique individual at the center of these institutional histories, despite the limitations such an approach also imposes. Certainly, I do not intend a return to the (ironically) hagiographic manner of the early and mid-twentieth century, at which point Grafton could be hyperbolically lauded as a singular force behind the establishment of the house of correction and the royal hospitals: "There was a mind steadily at work planning every detail . . . ready to convey ideas from City to Court, and Court to City, a mind whose dogged persistence was fanned by enthusiasm to a steady glow: and that mind was Richard Grafton's," wrote one chronicler of Christ's Hospital in 1953.[31] Since the rise of social history and the ensuing linguistic and cultural turns, more systematic reexaminations of the court's logs and the hospitals' account books have revealed broader trends and usefully shifted the focus away from Grafton or Ridley or Edward VI or any of the "great men" behind these institutions and toward those individuals brought up before the bench. This chapter will similarly explore the archives of Bridewell and Christ's Hospital from the perspective of those disciplined. And yet, Grafton's uniquely rich paper trail offers insights that cannot be ignored. As one of the most vocal advocates, governors, and the first treasurer-general for the hospitals, Grafton not only presided over Bridewell or Christ's Hospital's court sessions but also kept their earliest financial accounts—in the first person: "Somes of money as have bene received by me Richard Grafton . . . from the laste of June 1554, unto the said daye and monethe, anno 1555."[32] Moreover, Grafton's catalog as a publisher provides insights into the wider culture and ideas that surrounded these institutions. "The Citie of London may not forget, or forgetting may not be untolde of it," Norton wrote in his preface to Grafton's *A chronicle at large . . .* (1569), chiding any citizen or reader who might fail to recognize the full range of projects and ways in which Grafton has been "a factor of faithfulnesse, policie and painefulnesse."[33]

This chapter addresses the full range of Grafton's activities as a "factor" while striving to set his actions within their wider, institutional and intellectual contexts. Although this study is framed around a recursive comparison between the practices of each linked institution, as well as between the books issuing from

Grafton's print shop and the actions recorded in the sessions of the hospitals on days where Grafton himself was in attendance, my aim is to construct a window into the culture of English humanism, in theory and in practice, within a set of circumstances that were distinctive yet contained much broader implications. The writings of closely related individuals, such as Stow or Richard Mulcaster, headmaster at the nearby Merchant Taylors' School, will help provide context. The ultimate reason for highlighting Grafton's individual role is also a structural one, however. By comparing and contrasting the ways that Grafton went about his work in these physically and administratively shared spaces—the print house, the schools of Christ's Hospital, and the workhouse at Bridewell—we might notice how Grafton's own profession, training, and habits worked horizontally across those thresholds, while also gaining further insights into what was after all so distinctive about the house of correction's promise. That promise was deceptively simple. To a certain extent, the house of correction's labors would simply force the so-called idle to gain the skills needed for long-term employment. But in a more far-reaching way, the idea was that those labors would become internalized as the habits of a profession or even vocation, enabling the subject "to desire his own subordination," perhaps, but more essentially, enacting qualities deemed moral and thus slowly bringing about those processual changes to ethos itself through which individual changes might lead to societal improvements.[34] In that way, the house of correction was only the most physically coercive and thus most controversial arm of a pedagogical culture whose activities and material practices permeated so many aspects of the social and intellectual life of early modern England.

The Culture of Correction in the Print Shop at Christ's Hospital

Richard Grafton's mornings must have begun in his living quarters and print shop within Christ's Hospital.[35] "*Imprinted at London within the precinct of the late dissolved house of the gray Friers, by Richard Grafton*," reads the colophon.[36] A ground plan from before the fires of 1666 shows "M[aster] Treasurers Gardens" and M[aster] Treasurers kitchens" located just across an entry hall from the "Schoole M[aster's] Ho[use]," around a corner to the "Gramer scho[ol]" and the "Maidens Schoole."[37] Before the house of correction existed, before he became involved with the hospitals, and before he began compiling his own versions of the English chronicles, Grafton's training and habits were formed in the print shop by his trade as a printer and publisher. In this context, as scholars including

Anthony Grafton, Lisa Jardine, Adam Smyth, Ann Blair, Seth Lerer, and Daniel Wakelin have shown, textual correction was an especially rich and frequently misunderstood aspect of the material culture of early modern printed books and manuscripts.[38]

Grafton's own texts demonstrate the ambiguities contained within the culture of correction, in the printing house and beyond. In one of his prefaces from 1565, for example, "To his loving frendes the Master and Wardens of the companie of the most excellent Arte and science of Imprinting," Grafton openly implores other printers to participate in the authorship and production of his text by correcting it.[39] "When God shall call me out of this transitory life," Grafton writes, "take and use this copie or book . . . with Additions as the time shale require . . . as from time to time ye will see the same so cleanely wrought and with diligence corrected."[40] In another dedicatory letter, entitled "Richarde Grafton to the gentle reader," this time from 1570, Grafton highlights both emendations and additions as part of the corrective process: "I have (right loving Reader) nowe once againe turned over my firste Abridgement of Chronicles, & not onely amended such things as I found amisse therein, but also have added thereunto many and diverse good notes, as the diligent Reader shall easely perceive."[41] Correction was a collaborative and accretive process, in which writers and printers, lectors and correctors, and especially readers and book users were invited to participate as a way of sharing the ongoing, minor, but not insignificant tasks of improving or improving the usefulness of a written work. The culture of textual correction encompassed fixing typos and minor mistakes ("cleanely wrought . . . with diligence corrected") but also material amplifications ("Additions . . .") and thus evoked the palimpsest of prepublication practices that had taken place in a print shop such as Grafton's.[42] Correction reveals not only how the material form of a printed text could impact a reader's experience but shows how the individual reading experience continued a process begun in an institutional setting.

In the print shop, a lector or reader would read aloud while the corrector followed along, marking divergences between the exemplar or control text and the proof, so that the portion of the run "under correction" could then be mass-produced.[43] In this way, correction was a collaboration among multiple subjects in the print house, even before readers were involved: the corrector would attend to the proof, while the lector voiced the control, rather than the corrector moving their eyes back and forth from control to proof—a habit that had its own ancient precedents in the manuscript culture of Christian scholarship, where a junior *anagnostes* or reader would read aloud while a senior *diorthotes* or corrector

would enter changes in the new manuscript.[44] There might be multiple passes in multiple formats: a proofreader who reads out and corrects, another who hears and corrects, and a third who both reads for him or herself and corrects.[45] While correctors were often learned, and while the result of these processes could achieve greater standardization, these efforts could also ironically result in wider idiosyncrasy, especially where ambiguous syntax, homophonous cruxes, punctuation, or spelling were concerned—and any errors created or "escaped" might then be reproduced more quickly under mechanization.[46] Thus while correction is sometimes taken as the harbinger of "a new culture of accuracy," early modern writers often blamed correctors for inserting as many new mistakes as they made necessary improvements.[47] Instead, textual correction ought to be understood as an interpretive and creative process in its own right, as Anthony Grafton and Smyth have argued.[48]

Richard Grafton's epistles confirm such an understanding, often concluding in the hopes that the reader, too, will take up the continued work of correction in as charitable a manner as they can: "most hartely praying the gentle Reader, that where he shall finde me to have committed any errour, that there he will gently interpret mee, or amende the same."[49] For certain practical reasons, Grafton's historical chronicles were particularly amenable to the collaborative, additive understanding of textual "correction" as a form of social ethos-making recently advanced by contemporary scholars, because the texts were composed from the collation of antecedent chronicles, but also because they needed to be updated as time passed and as generations passed away. Yet the attitude was a common one. Grafton's apprentice Howes spoke in similar terms in a prefatory epistle to his own manuscripts: "And if I have either omitted or left unperfect any thing worthie memorie, or not so fully set foorthe some things as the cause requirethe . . . hereafter I will not only amende it but also augmente it."[50] Amending but also augmenting and amplifying were all equally essential to the meaning of correction in the early modern period. These associations were reflected in the meaning of correction as a figure in the rhetorical curriculum, as well, in which a statement is partially retracted only to be set forth in stronger terms. When Thomas Wilson defined "Correcion," in his *Arte of rhetorique*, printed by Richard Grafton in 1553, the term was even considered synonymous with amplification: "But I have spoken of this heretofore when I spoke of amplification."[51]

Early modern readers could scarcely open a book of any kind without being hailed as its corrector.[52] In Grafton's printed editions and in his own words, invocations to the ethos-making function of the humanist reader's "amending hande"

repeatedly direct access to the texts.[53] Just before the colophon in his *Chronicle at large* (1569), for example, an impressive table of "Faultes escaped" stands at the end of the second volume, partitioning and matching "faultes" with their "Corrections," along with pinpointed folio and line numbers.[54] Grafton's tables of errors anticipate the active, humanist reader of the sort who annotated their books, crossed out errata in the manner of a task list, or even created lists of new mistakes they themselves had caught, not unlike some of the readers of *Utopia* described in the previous chapter.[55] Even Grafton's elaborate chart of errors in his *Chronicle at large* contains its own mistakes: an embarrassment, perhaps, but also a telling instance of the early modern culture of correction. "And where thou shalt find divers of the numbers of the Pages false," a note reads below the table, "I praye thee gentle reader by the conference of the numbers that go before and those that folow, correct the same."[56] The voice that emerges in these paratexts and the intimacy of their address adds a polyphonic quality to the framing devices of Grafton's books, and often cleverly blurs the lines (or shifts blame) between the responsibilities of the author, the printer, and future readers themselves.

In the implications of these time-consuming practices, one can discern a culture of improvement centered on readers and their books—books meant for using and amending in ways that might serve as practice for a reader's own linguistic improvement, while also changing the reading experience, the access to or facility with the text.[57] Through correction, readers might improve themselves as well as their texts. In an epistle titled "To the loving and gentle reader, Richard Grafton wisheth health," for example, Grafton apologizes for mistakes in the earlier edition: "Gentle reader, in the first impression of this my abridgement of the Chronicles of England, partly by miswritinge, partly by misenteringe & mistaking of yeres, but chiefly by misprinting, divers and sundry fautes were committed, which after I had well perused, I did with diligence reforme and amend the same."[58] Grafton's language (miswriting, misentering, mistaking, and misprinting) suggests the spectrum of tasks that he and his coworkers might have undertaken as print professionals, but also in his own, various person, as the compiler-editor-author of the chronicles, seeking "with diligence" to "improve," "reform" and "amend."[59] Yet it is the reader who is most of all tasked with carrying out these practical, ideological, and self-reflexive tasks. Such common, paratextual invocations to the humanist *habitus* of correction were the rhetorical framework through which readers were invited into the shared task of making vernacular culture—and explicitly, in the case of Grafton's *Chronicles*, making English history.

Correction, I argue, ought to therefore be considered as another one of those humanist cultural practices, such as the pedagogy of the Tudor schools, whose ideological possibilities scholars have not hesitated to interrogate. For one thing, the habits of textual correction descended not only from the print shop but from the schoolroom, where students were expected to correct the errors in their own work, and where notational and reading practices shaded into one another. Halpern has argued that "by imparting both juridical and mimetic forms of learning," Tudor pedagogy was able "to carry out two very different kinds of ideological work":

> The juridical model . . . helped to reproduce the dominant form of political authority. At the same time, the mimetic model [imitations, ethopoeia] helped to articulate a new class culture within the nascent bounds of 'civil society.' This it did by imparting behavioral discipline, encouraging the stylistic assimilation of cultural authority, and distributing individual differences within a regularized system. The transitional labor of the schools can thus be located at the sometimes tense intersection of these two systems, which both reproduced a more traditional model of cultural authority and helped to lay the basis for a new one.[60]

These same strategies can be discerned within the culture of correction more generally, including textual correction, which on the one hand sought to produce a dominant set of linguistic and grammatical norms, and at the same time articulated a subtler series of participatory class structures, not only in the "stylistic assimilation of cultural authority" or the distribution of "individual differences within a regularized system," but through the collaborative, additive, and even creative functions that correction entailed.[61] The admittedly low-stakes minutiae of readers' correction betray many of the same ideological functions that have been noticed in the Tudor grammar schools, albeit within everyday practices that are easy to overlook. Nevertheless these details of language were part of the articulation of a "new class culture" as a form of "civil society."[62] In the printshop as in the schoolrooms of Christ's Hospital, and in the books issuing from that print shop as in the habits of the readers issuing from that school, a new dispersal of civic and social ethos-shaping continued in the material practices of making linguistic norms, slowly making correction itself a norm and a habit in its own right.

Vocational Literacy at Christ's Hospital and the Humanist Grammar School

If it was one of his "Mondayes at Christes hospital," Grafton attended to the business of the charitable orphanage and school, rather than the house of correction or even the print shop.[63] "At a courte holden the 14th of Marche 1557" at Christ's and attended by "M[aster] Grafton," for example, the scribe recorded the entrance of several children, including "a childe found in Thames street nighe the Bridge of thage of 3 yrs," and "Anne Barborowe of theage of 3 yeres sent from St. Thomas hospitall."[64] In October 1557, at a session over which Grafton presided, "a childe left at S[ir] John Leghes dore in theolde Jurye about theage of one" was admitted.[65] At another session where Grafton presided in 1558, "A woman childe named Joyce aboute theage of 8 wek left on m[aster] Rawseys stall was admitted."[66] Christ's Hospital cared for, raised, and provided basic education to these orphaned children in the hopes that they might be taken on as servants or apprentices; in 1564, a review counted 1,916 children admitted to the hospital since its beginnings in 1552, 866 of whom had been "put to service."[67] From its early days, Christ's Hospital also contained a traditional grammar school, where fee-paying day students were enrolled alongside older house children, as well as more unusual programs, including a "Maidens School" and a school for scrivening.[68]

Scholarship has grown increasingly skeptical of claims about a "revolution" in access to education in England over the course of the sixteenth century.[69] David Cressy cautions that even the most radical of sixteenth-century reformers conceived of "universal education" as "a means of social control, not of social liberation."[70] Halpern notes that sixteenth-century schools "formed part of the state's proposed efforts at poor relief, as institutions intended to control English youth and prepare them for gainful employment," and perhaps more importantly, takes it as "axiomatic" that "the primary function of schooling" at any level "is to reproduce the dominant social order."[71] Although humanist education often sought to distance itself from the technical and vocational training that had been the purview of medieval guilds, humanists were also "only too happy to encourage the idea that schooling offered a solution to the problem of vagrancy and crime."[72] In its earliest years, the evidence from Christ's Hospital offers support for this consensus in several regards, and counterpoints in others. Although the institution's efforts were openly aimed at strengthening the social order as it stood, they also represented real steps toward a universal educational

system, going well beyond the mission of most Tudor grammar schools or petty schools and even the endowed free schools whose fees were waived but whose costs in materials and lost wages could be prohibitive. The dual agenda of education as a means of supporting the social order and advancing the cause of reformation was demonstrated by the activities of the orphanage and the emphasis on vernacular literacy in its petty and grammar schools, which included some basic literacy for girls as well. These efforts were seen as radical enough to provoke controversy. In 1555, Richard Grafton himself was jailed by the conservative Bishop Gardner "because he suffered the children to learne ye Englyshe Prymer when they should have learned the Latin A.B. seies [ABCs]," according to Howes.[73]

Although the exact curriculum for the schools at Christ's Hospital does not survive from these earliest decades, its contents can be inferred by comparing sources such as the institution's 1557 "Ordinances" and Howes's manuscripts with Grafton's financial records as treasurer, and by considering the broader context of humanist education in England in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. In 1557, the orders for the hospitals (appointed to be read aloud in the general court on a quarterly basis) expressed particular concern that children from Christ's Hospital be put to service only in godly households that might "bring them up to suche facultie, service, or occupation as they may hereafter be good members in the commonwealth," and further stipulated that talented children ("as be pregnant and very apt to learninge") should be "reserved and kept in the grammer-schole, in hope of preferment to the universitie; where they may be vertuously educated and in time become learned and good members in the commonweal."[74] The "Ordinances" reiterate that all "men children" "put foorthe" from Christ's Hospital should be able to "write and reade and cast accomptes."[75]

Such aspirations place Christ's Hospital at the forefront of English efforts to educate the poor. In Howes's 1587 manuscript, Dignity and Duty allude to the public resentment and even internal disagreement stirred up by the relative radicalism of the hospital's project. "I wold have the governors to be fully perswaded that in Conscience they are bound to be as carefull for the virtuous bringing up of thesis children . . . as if they weare their owne," Duty claims.[76] "What mean you by theise words," Dignity asks, for isn't this already the case?[77] Duty agrees that the masters of Christ's Hospital treat their wards well: "they have that which children ought to have, as meate, drinck, cloath, and cleanly kept, with Somme learning."[78] Perhaps *too* well, at least according to some.[79] "And yet I say theis poore children must have those helps which other men's children have nott," Duty continues.[80] Dignity grumbles: "I praye you yield me some reason."[81] Duty

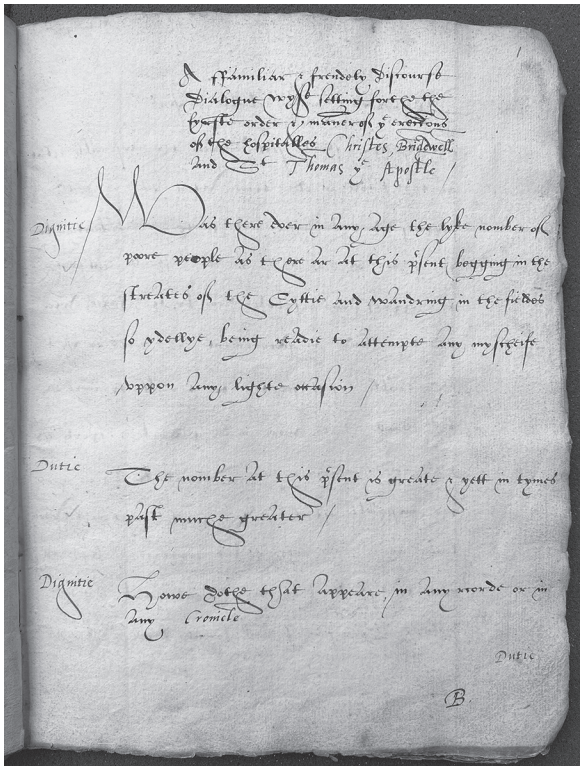


Figure 4. The London Archives, CLC/210/D/026/001, fol. 1. The beginning of John Howes's 1582 manuscript "A Familiar [and] frendely Discourse Dialogue wyse setting forthe the firste order [and] maner of [the] erections of the hospitalles Christes, Bridewell and St. Thomas [the] Apostle," spoken by "Dignitie" and "Dutie." Courtesy Christ's Hospital.

goes on to argue that the children of Christ's Hospital have even greater need of the advantage of education than the offspring of merchants or citizens, since they have no families or connections to rely on: "I say theis poor children ought to have those helps which other men's children have nott."[82]

The manuscript outlines a curriculum that requires "excellent scholemaisters of sondry qualities" who would instruct their students in practical skills including reading, writing, and numeracy.[83] "Teache the children to wright divers kinds of hands, as Secretory, Court hand, Chancery hand, Romaine hand, and such others as the children shalbe founde most aptest to learn, as also to read all kinds of hands, to sipher and to kepe accounts," Duty demands.[84] These priorities are confirmed by the Hospital's ledgers (kept by Grafton). In the first years, the highest paid member of their staff was the grammar school master, John Robyson (£15 per year).[85] Robyson had a "Grammar Usher" under him named James Seamus (£10 per year) as well as a clerk, John Watson (£10 per year), who was paid an additional sum for his help as writing master.[86] Grafton's ledgers

also confirm an ambitious musical curriculum described in Howes's manuscript. In 1552, Thomas Lowes and Thomas Cutts were paid more than £2 per year for their work as "schoolmaster for music" and "a teacher of pricksong."[87] In 1557, the salary for "Thomas Cutte," "scholemaster of the petites," is again discussed.[88] In the Howes manuscript, Dignity and Duty describe the reasoning for making music such an essential part of a curriculum that was explicitly preprofessional:

> the children should learne to singe, to play upon all sortes of instruments, as to sounde the trumpet, the cornett, the recorder or flute, to playe upon shagboots, shalmes, and all other instruments that are to be plaied upon, either with winde or finger, because nature yelds her several gifts, and there is an aptness of conceavinge in some more then in other some, and yet every child apt to learne the one or the other, those qualities cannot be greatly chargeable, because they are the gifts of god in nature, and they are quallities that every honest minde taketh great pleasure and delight in, and no doubt if the children be well tought, plide, and followed, it will be a redy meane to preferre a number of them having these qualities.[89]

Howes draws upon some of the highest ideals of humanist pedagogy as further means of securing preference for students who have been disadvantaged by circumstances, not necessarily by innate ability. "Every child is apt to learne," Dignity claims.[90] A liberal training in the arts is seen as the means of proving the truth in such a statement. "Because nature yelds her several gifts," one can never say in which discipline or instrument a student might reveal their "aptness of conceavinge."[91] For this reason, all manner of arts and skills, especially musical ones, must be offered. Dignity's syntax transfers "the gifts of god in nature" and "the qualities that every honest minde taketh great pleasure and delight in" between the students and their future employers.[92] Surely students themselves will take delight in learning to read or sing, just as their future masters will be gratified to hire "a number of them having these qualities."[93] "If the children be well taught, plied and followed," they will find success.[94] In a paradigmatic example of what Halpern calls the humanist "discourse of capacities," reading, writing, siphering, singing, and playing upon such a wide variety of instruments are all necessary to the curriculum not merely as basic skills for a servant or apprentice but because greater variety might reveal the "aptness" in every student and foster softer qualities "that every honest minde taketh great pleasure and delight in," future servants and future masters alike.[95]

But skeptical Dignity wonders aloud why any of this should be needed when there are already grammar schools. "Would you have the grammer skoole suppressed?"[96] "No," Duty responds, "but lett honest poore Citizens children have the benefit" of the grammar schools, "for whome it was specially provided."[97] Christ's Hospital's schools are explicitly posited as an expansion of access, beyond the grammar schools, but also as the purveyors of a more practically advantageous skill set:

> *Dignitie*. Do you thinck that Schooles of writinge, readinge, sipheringe and singeing wold be more beneficiall to the Children then the grammer schoole?
>
> *Dutie*. I am out of doubt therof, for the grammer Schoole is a longe and tedious schoole, and many yeres are spent before the Children can growe to any perfection, and yett after that they are come to perfection there followeth a large charge even in the Universities, and for those which are not preferred to the Universities their latten tonge standeth them in little stead . . .
>
> *Dignitie*. I must Confesse that the grammer schoole is an heavye and a tedious schoole, and that writinge, readinge and singing are sooner obtained and with less chardge, and serve better for any mans purpose.[98]

In the words of Dignity and Duty, the hospital-school's lessons would be more immediately applicable than the "tedious" emphasis on Latin in the grammar schools.[99] Vernacular "writinge, readinge, and singing" are skills both easier to learn and more likely to serve "for any man's purpose."[100]

Christ's Hospital carried several of the basic arguments of humanist educational reforms, including the emphasis on practical eloquence and the more immediate applicability of a rhetorical curriculum, to a further conclusion, although the hospital-school was not entirely unique in this regard. Abandoning Latin was not unheard of in rural schools or petty schools; neither was an emphasis on music as a means of improving the chances of "preferment" for London's poor and orphaned children, compared with the nearby schools at St. Paul's or the Merchant Taylors school, where Richard Mulcaster described his elementary curriculum in 1582 as "consisting in five points: reading, writing, drawing, singing, & playing."[101] But Christ's Hospital went further than seemingly any school in London in serving the orphaned poor alongside paying students, and in joining its petty school, grammar school, and writing school within

the administrative structure of the hospitals as a whole. Additional records dating at least as far back as 1596, such as a bequest of £20 per year made to Christ's Hospital "to maintain in the said hospital a writing school, with a master and usher, to each as well poor men's children of the city of London as children of the said hospital to write and cast accompts," confirm these activities.[102]

Christ's Hospital also went further than arguably any other school in England in its education of girls and young women. As early as 1553, Grafton's treasurer's account book records payments to a matron for "the teaching of the women children" at Christ's Hospital.[103] William Lempriere claimed that Christ's was "the first Endowed School in England for girls" and thus "the oldest Girls' School" in the nation.[104] Grafton's account books show repeated payments to "Goodwife Smoothing and Goodwife Saepsched . . . for the teaching of the women children."[105] Dignity and Duty also described their plans for the education for young girls in the Howes manuscripts of 1582 and 1587. "You have said well for the boyes, nowe I praye you tell me your opinion for the maides?" Dignity asks.[106] "I must saye for the maides as I have said for the boyes," Duty responds, confirming that female students should not be constrained to "spinning only" when "of their own accord" they are just as likely to be "very apte to take any other exercise, as soinge in silke, silver and goulde, in workinge of sondrye kinds of laces, and such others things whiche wold be more profitable to the house and allsoe a greater preferment to the Children."[107] Duty concludes that the girls should have "Mistresses which could teache them theis qualities."[108] "This I take to be a present meanes too prefere the younge maides to good mistresses and in time to good husbands," Duty claims.[109] The scope and the purpose of such an education is clearly much more limited than was intended for boys, but nevertheless this would have been a distinctive undertaking for an institutional setting anywhere in England in the sixteenth century. Although further records are scarce, in 1625, a bequest was made to hire a female instructor in both sewing and literacy, "for teaching the girls of this house to reade."[110] From 1626 onward the mistresses of the girl's school can be traced, and bequests of endowments begin to increase: between 1625 and 1651, George Dunn donated four pounds per year "for teaching [the girls] to read English that they may better attain unto the knowledge of God and understanding of His Word."[111]

Later reports and reforms confirm some of these earlier efforts. In 1612, a report of the governors found that Christ's teachers "are very ready and willing to performe their duties," but noticed that students departing petty school directly to the writing school appeared "to have quite lost theire reading" already, and therefore, should proceed to grammar school as well, "for theire better perfection

in Reading."[112] "At the houre of Foure in the afternoon," grammar school students "shall goe from there to the writing schoole to practice theire writing."[113] This report indicates that there had indeed already been efforts underway to offer a shorter course of education and to see these students transferred as quickly as possible into the lucrative Writing School, to learn their scribal hands—efforts that appear to date back as early as 1577.[114] Christ's Hospital in its earliest decades was, like its sisters hospitals, an idiosyncratic and ambiguous institution, containing parallel programs and purposes: a print shop; an orphanage; a vernacular petty school; a preprofessional Writing School; evidence of organized education for girls; as well as a traditional grammar school, where fee-paying day students alongside residential students received an education that was increasingly similar to that found at the nearby St. Paul's school, the Merchant Taylor school, or any of the Tudor grammar schools whose curriculum and practices have been so foundational to the scholarly understanding of early modern England.

Corporal Punishment in Christ's Hospital and the Humanist Grammar School

Physical discipline was commonplace at Christ's Hospital as it was in any Tudor grammar school. Surviving records treat extreme cases. In 1607, an usher for the grammar school named Robert Goodman was called before the court of the Governors on a complaint about his "hard and cruell dealing in his correcting of the children of this house and other children of the citty," for which he had already been admonished "many times."[115] Goodman was accused of beating a boy named George Bright, who was found "stricken over the hands with the great end of the rod in such sort that both his hands were very much swollen therwith to the indangering of the losse of both his hands."[116] Goodman was dismissed for this abuse. There were lines not to be crossed, even if the rod was a routine feature in the classroom at Christ's Hospital, though it may be that the use of coercive tactics was more pronounced there than in the average Tudor school. In the Howes manuscripts, Dignity and Duty report that some of "the children in Chistes hospitall . . . woulde watche duely when the porters were absent that they mighte steal oute and fall into theire olde occupacon" of begging in the streets.[117] In response to these attempted escapes, children were "sharpley punished" until they would submit to abiding "within the boundes of theire houses."[118] Punishment and even confinement were constitutive aspects of learning and living at Christ's Hospital, although this, too, might not have

been so unusual. In his "Preface to the Reader," Roger Ascham describes a similar incident at Eton as his occasion for composing *The Scholemaster* (1568), which has become the best-known pedagogical treatise of the era: "divers Scholers of Eaton, be run awaye from the Schole for fear of beating."[119]

Despite Ascham's famous decrees that "love is fitter then feare" and "gentleness better than beating, to bring up a child rightlye in learninge," corporal punishment remained common practice in humanist schools across early modern England.[120] Ascham himself declines to question the use of corporal punishment when it came to "common scholes": "With the common use of teaching and beating in common scholes of England, I will not greatlie contend."[121] "Rule by the rod" was classical as well as medieval precedent, and the culture of English humanism, for all its reforms, continued to recognize "the equation of learning and flogging," as Walter Ong once put it.[122] "The *rod* may no more be spared in schools, then the *sworde* may in the *Princes* hand," explained Richard Mulcaster in 1581, and if such practices "be thought fearful for boyes," critics would do well to remember that pedagogical punishments were something "our time devised not, but received it from auncientie [*sic*]."[123]

Christian discipline provided further justification. Mulcaster himself was echoing the Book of Proverbs 13:24: "He that spareth his rod, hateth his son."[124] "He that loveth instruction, loveth knowledge: but he that hateth correction, is a fool," was another commonly cited verse.[125] Matthew Parker's translation reversed the terms: "Whoso loveth correction loveth knowledge."[126] Proverbs 22:15 provided another commonplace: "Foolishness is bound in the heart of a child, but the rod of correction will drive it far from him."[127] In homilies and sermons, the disciplinary schoolroom was repeatedly metaphorized as a space between the household and the state. Just as "every loving father correcteth his natural son," so the ladder of paternal authorities, from crown to magistrate to schoolteacher, ought to "rebuke, correct, & punish vice," in the interest of all, according to the Anglican homilies, whose first volume was printed in 1547 by none other than Richard Grafton.[128] "Flogging (or the threat of it)" was an essential component of the Tudor grammar school, "used right alongside the gentler art of inculcating respect for authority by training a boy to imitate or 'follow' an exemplary model," Lynn Enterline comments.[129]

In vernacular pedagogical manuals from the sixteenth century, expressions of doubt and cautions *against* excesses in corporal punishment ironically reveal how essential and widespread those practices remained. Ascham inveighs against scholars who would "rather breake than bowe" or "rather marre . . . than mend" their students, yet agrees that "everye vice" must be "severlye corrected."[130] John

Brinsley's popular *Ludus literarius*, or, *The grammar school* (1611), which went through ten editions before 1640 and claims to have gathered its advice by "searching the experiments of sundry profitable schoolemasters . . . confirmed by trial," provides copious details in its caution against "severity of correction."[131] Brinsley's treatise, like Howes's *Friendly discourse*, is composed as "A Discourse between two Schoolemasters," Philoponus ('lover of toil') and Spoudeus ('diligent' in Greek).[132] Philoponus cautions that the schoolmaster must take "heedfull care" lest "by severity of correction, to cause them to hate the Schoole before they knowe it, or to distast good learning before they have felt the sweetnesse of it."[133] Philoponus emphasizes humanist practices of imitation ("all things in Schools be done by emulation") both in the explicit assignment to recreate the style of a classical author and in the charge to emulate positive examples in the classroom; the text also emphasizes the "honest contention" implicit in competition among students but also explicit in declamatory contests.[134] Competition and positive reinforcement rather than "severity of correction" ought to be the rule, according to Brinsley's treatise.[135] (Halpern points out the "unstated advantage" that "competition among students discouraged collective resistance to the authority of the teacher."[136]) When it comes to the details of Latin double-translations, however, Spoudeus admits that "I have been wont to correct them sharply, for their faults in writing, and their negligence."[137] Philoponus laments "what a terrour must this needs be unto the young Schollar, who feares to be corrected for every fault," but because this is surely "the shortest, surest, and easiest" way, advises schoolmasters to proceed with their requisite corporal discipline "cheerfully and boldly."[138] The speaker's phrasing slips between textual and physical objects of correction; Philoponus recommends having other students correct their own compositions as one student practices pronunciation, to save time: "And according to these as they pronounce, and are shewed their faults, for all the rest to correct theirs," but, "if any be found not to correct so, or to have omitted his exercise, to have his due correction."[139] Any student who fails to correct their own texts will face corporal correction instead.[140]

Brinsley's manual consistently interleaves its instructions on the proper use of both corporal and linguistic forms of discipline. "For inflicting punishments," Philoponus admonishes, "we ought to come thereunto unwillingly, and even inforced; and therefore to proceed by degrees."[141] These degrees include verbal scolding, as well as written records ("To keepe a note in writing"), such as "a note, which may be called, the black Bill" where students will see that their behavior is being recorded and thus repercussions are imminent.[142] "Keep a bill, and note carefully their severall principal disorders," Philoponus advises, "and now and then,

shew [students] their names and faults mildly, how oft they have been admonished . . . and by this policye keepe them in great obedience."[143] Such practices call to mind the textual, ethos-making habits of the Stoics and the late classical period that were of such interest to Foucault, as they were for civic humanists such as Grafton, Mulcaster, or Brinsley. "As an element of self-training," such language practices could become "an agent for the transformation of truth into *ēthos*," Foucault noted.[144] "Account books, public registers, or individual notebooks" such as the Black Bill might make students recognize the record (or "truth") of their own behavior, and thus force a different cognition of its "transformation into . . . *ēthos*" or character.[145] Then again, such written mnemonics also call to mind the paper affixed to Mrs. Norton in the stocks, a public shaming that seems meant to bind crime and punishment alike to her identity.

"Sometimes in greater faults," it may be necessary "to give three or fowre jerkes with a birch, or with a small redde willow where birch cannot be had," to add to the mnemonic aversion to continued misbehavior, Brinsely's treatise continues.[146] And to prevent future missteps, or "for terror in some notorious fault," consider "halfe a dozen stripes or moe, soundly laied on" at the "discretion of the Master."[147] Here, Philoponus's advice for "correction with the rod" veers drastically into advice on the best way to "correct any stubborn or unbroken boy" in the manner of an "unbroken colt":

> when you are to correct any stubborne or unbroken boy, you make sure with him to hold him fast; as they are inforced to do, who are to shooe or to tame an unbroken colt. To this end to appoint 3. or 4 of your schollars, whom you knowe to bee honest, and strong inough, or moe if need be, to lay hands upon him together, to hold him fast, over some fourme, so that he cannot stir hand nor foot; or else if no other remedy will serve, to hold him to some post (which is farre the safest and free from inconvenience) so as he cannot any way hurt himself or others, be he never so peevish. Neither that he can have hope by any devise or turning . . . or any other meanes to escape.[148]

According to Brinsley's text the best approach is to have the boy held down by three or four other students, or tied to a whipping post, which is "the safest and free from inconvenience."[149] Such a scene would make the humanist schoolroom almost indistinguishable from the house of correction. The pupil should have no "hope" by any "devise or turning" to be able to "escape."[150] But Philoponus advises the schoolmasters to remember "that all their correction be done with

authority, and with a wise and sober moderation, in a demonstration of duety to God, and love to the children, for their amendment, and the reformation of their evill manners."[151] The house of correction's abuses were justified in these same terms: "for their amendment, and the reformation of their evill manners."[152]

Humanist pedagogical manuals are often ironically at their most eloquent in their defense of these practices. Mulcaster's *Positions . . . necessarie for the training up of children* (1581) reminds the reader that "it were some losse of time in learning, to spend any in beating, if it did not seeme a gaine that soundeth towardes good, and seekes amendement of manners."[153] Why would Mulcaster spend precious time in the classroom beating his students, if it weren't a worthwhile endeavor? "It is passing hard, to reclaime a boye, in whom long impunitye hath graffed a carelesse securitye, or rather some deepe insolencie," Mulcaster explains his preventive deployment of discipline; it will be harder to turn a disobedient boy around later, thus "beating may not be for discouraging the boye, though repentaunce be in rearward."[154] In Brinsley's treatise, Philoponus again offers a succinct and powerful rationalization of the self-righteousness that marks the tradition of civic and Christian humanism, citing familiar commonplaces from the Book of Proverbs:

> Finally, as God hath sanctified the rod and correction, to cure the evils of their conditions, to drive out that folly which is bound up in their hearts, to save their soules from hell, and to give them wisdome; so it is to be used as Gods instrument to these purposes. To spare them in these cases is to hate them. To love them is to correct them betime. Do it under God, and for him to these ends and with these cautions, and you shall never hurt them: you have the Lord for your warrant. Correction in such manner, for stubbornnesse, negligence and carelesnesse, is not to be accounted over-great severitie, much lesse crueltie.[155]

But Spoudeus has his self-doubts. "How hard a matter is it to keepe this moderation in correcting, and thus to temper our anger," he admits; "it is a matter which hath often times troubled me, but I have not been able to overcome it."[156]

In response, Philoponus draws a significant distinction between correcting vices and correcting nature. Scholars must "ever remember" that their pupils are "Gods children, heires of his kingdome; we are to nurture them onely under him, to traine them up for him, and for his Church; nor to correct nature but vice; to do all to the end to make them men."[157] At the core, Philoponus retains a faith in human "nature," which a scholar's earthly corrections are not meant to reach.[158]

Correction concerns only vices, which are corruptions of that same nature. Correction is not meant to change nature but to revise vice. Henry Peacham similarly criticized teachers who show "indiscretion in correction, in using all natures alike, and that with immoderation, or rather plain cruelty."[159] "In reading early modern educational literature," Bushnell reflects, one nevertheless wonders "whether these early teachers attributed an inalterable and particular nature to each child that resists change or whether they believed they could completely mold his or her body, mind, and soul," or perhaps was the student imagined to have an essential nature "only enough to offer matter for the master's shaping hand"?[160]

Brinsley reminds the reader of the proportionality promised in Matthew 7:2: "With what measure ye mete, it shall be measured again."[161] Divine justice will "measure to us or ours, with what measure we mete to others," Philoponus notes.[162] "Happy men were we if we could attaine to this," Spoudeus sighs, before turning toward one last inquiry on the topic.[163] "But I pray you sir, what thinke you of this, to have ever the rode or ferula in our hand, at lesser faults to give them a blow or a jerke on the hand; and so when wee see any of them idle?" Spoudeus asks.[164] Philoponus responds:

> But for having the rodde or ferula always in our hands, if we be of hastye natures, I take it to be, as for a furious man to carye ever a naked sword in his hand. It will make us to strike many a time, when wee will bee sory for it after, if it fall not out worse. For these lighter faults, proceeding from lacke of time, years, capacity, discretion, or the like, would rather be corrected by words, and reformed lovingly, then by this continuall whipping and striking: neither will any good and wise father smite his childe for every fault. I would therefore have neither of these to be continually holden up; but rather some little twigge, if you will needs: I meane a small twigge something more then a foote long; that if you a little rap them on the heads, you can no way hurt them, neither their head, eyes nor face.[165]

The pragmatic orientation of Brinsley's treatise, apparent throughout, is especially clear in passages such as these, where ultimately the question of corporal punishment comes down to distinctions about how long the stick should be and where to hit the students. Keeping the rod or the ferular in hand might well be a practical danger that encourages a scholar to fall into physically reprimanding minor offenses that might instead be "corrected by words, and reformed lovingly."[166] But if one must have an instrument at the ready, make it a "twig," less

than a foot long, for giving "a little rap on the heads," just so long as you avoid their fragile eyes and faces.[167] Otherwise it might be the master himself who is "sory for it after."[168]

Brinsley's suggestion that some whose faults proceed "from lacke of time, years, capacity, discretion, or the like" could be "reformed lovingly" recalls the verbal and linguistic practices that constituted "correction by words."[169] Some humanist pedagogues, such as Ascham, envisioned dividing instruction in "learning" from correction in "manners," as differing functions for differing institutions: one where reading and writing might proceed without violence, and another for more severe correction of behavior.[170] Mulcaster, drawing on the wisdom of his years of school-teaching, deemed the rod a necessary evil, even if seldom used: "My selfe have had thousands under my hand, whom I never bet [beat], neither they ever much needed: but if the rod had not bene in sight, and assured them of punishment if they had swerved to much, they would have deserved."[171] "Wherefore I must say, that in any multitude the rod must needs rule," Mulcaster concludes, not exactly as a means of ruling by fear but by confirming the order of consequences: "Neither needeth a good boye to be afraid, seeing his fellow offender beaten, any more then an honest man, though he stand by the gallows, at the execution of a felon."[172]

Punishment and Labor at the House of Correction

Grafton's "wedynnsdayes at Bridewell" reveal continuities as well as tensions within the wider disciplinary practices of civic and Christian humanism, or what might ultimately be called carceral humanism.[173] From the orphanage and school at Christ's Hospital it was only a short walk to the gate of Bridewell, up the Grand Staircase and into the court room and whipping chamber—steps Grafton traced weekly if not more often, as court often met twice per week in these years. His name and initials appear frequently in the early pages of Bridewell's court books as one of its most dedicated administrators, often sitting in judgment on the bench as a governor, exercising his authority to police the city's streets by directing Bridewell's beadles, or in some cases acting as lone representative for Bridewell at joint meetings of the hospital's general board.[174] On March 26, 1562, for example: "Anthonie Androwes broughte into this house . . . at the comanndment of m[aster] Grafton . . . for that he is supposed to be a bawde or mayteiner therof."[175] In May 1560, "R.G." was one of the governors to whom "Anthony Pope" "confessed his fault and prayeth for mercy."[176] Pope, accused of

"maynteinyge of naughty p[er]sons," nevertheless "hath submitted him self to the order of this house" and "promiseth amendment of life" and was therefore delivered out of Bridewell on May 29.[177] A month later, "Jane Calvert" was accused of having "in filthy maner used herself unto the husbands of severall women," for which she was "comytted to the labors of this house untyll further examinyacion be had," with the special instruction that Calver was not to be released without specifically consulting "Ric[hard] Grafton."[178] Grafton was also present at another unusual session: "Adrian Petite . . . brought into this House the [9th] of April 1561 for that he was accused to be a filthy bugger and beyng examind in the p[re]sence of M[aster] Hardyng M[aster] Harrys M[aster] Barnam M[aster] Pierce and R,G, it hath both by witnesses and such plainly appeared that he hath defiled one boy, and therefore committed at this time to close prison."[179] The punishment of "close prison" might suggest that "buggery" was not considered curable by labor, but neither was Adrian Petite burned at the stake, as far as we know.[180] In this entry, as in several others, Grafton's initials alone are used while other governor's names are spelled out, suggesting how frequent his presence in the courtroom may have been.

Grafton is involved in so many cases policing women, one wonders whether this was his special concern, although it was a preoccupation for the institution as well.[181] In 1562, "Agnes Serche sent into this house the [14th] of Aprill by m[aster] Grafton for loyteringe and gaddinge about the stretes" was "commited to the matron" for discipline and delivered four days later.[182] On July 28, 1561, "Ellyn Pope" was "broughte into this house . . . at the commandment of m[aster] Grafton" for being caught loitering; Pope was "whipped & committed to the labour."[183] "Dorathye Curtyse brought in the same daye . . . by the same comandmentes . . . whipped . . . committed to the labor of this house," the next entry reads.[184] And again: "Marye Asheleye brought in the same Daye . . . at the commandment of the same m[aster] Grafton & for the same cause whipped . . . & so committed to the labor this House."[185] A woman named "Margett Warde" was "agayne brought into this house . . . at the commandment of m[aster] grafton . . . whipped the [30th] of July . . . & committed to the labor of this house."[186] In 1560, one entry even slips into Grafton's own voice. "Agnes Owen" complained that "William Bromwyche" had "upon promise of marriage abused her body and hath begotten her with chylde."[187] Bromwyche "promised" before "me R.G. that he will mary her in as short tyme as maye be."[188] Most women were sent to the matron or "comitted to the labors of this house," such as a group of women brought in on May 13, 1562.[189] Perhaps what is more surprising than the extent of Bridewell's misogyny is the extent to which women were included in Bridewell's

efforts at reform, however dubious, even though they faced disproportionate punishment. The house of correction was one of London's legal apparatuses with the "particular potential for penalizing women for their verbal or sexual behavior," Laura Gowing has noted.[190]

Many entries demonstrate the broader, institutional coordination between Christ's Hospital and Bridewell, of which Grafton's own activities were a function. "Thomas Amere an olde man Dwelling in St Giles in the fieldes" was "brought into this house the [11th] of marche by the m[asters] of Christes hospital for that he was beginge in the stretes."[191] Because of his advanced age, Amere "was Delivered again upon his promise that he would no more begge in the stretes but would Departe the same into Chesire where he was borne immediately within three or fower daies."[192] The next month, one of Bridewell's long-term residents was caught by the masters of Christ's Hospital and returned to the house of correction: "Elizabethe Knighte one of the singlewomen of this house nowe brought into the same by the masters of Christes Hospitall being taken beginge and loyteringe about the towne the [11th] of Aprile and the same Daie whipped and delivered to the Matron."[193] "Peter Pittyn" was "brought into this house" the 25th of April, 1562, "by the governors of Christes Hospitall for that he was taken beginge & roguing & ranging aboute the towne as an idle vacabonde and masterless man and therefore was wellwhipped . . . and Delivered with admonicion & warning to Labour and work for his lyvinge."[194] In May 1562, "Anne Davye and Joane walker brought into this house the [4th] of maye by the masters of Christes Hospital for that they dwelling and beinge servaunts at the signe of the bell in newgate markett for that the[y] committed whordome [with] Richard Demy . . . and thereupon being severallye examined confesse the same to be true."[195] The entry breaks off. Where the punishment, labors, and date of delivery would be recorded, nothing is written. Richard Demy had been released, according to the prior entry, on the promise of his "honeste behaviore hereafter," so perhaps Davy and Walker were let go as well.[196]

Many of the sessions where Grafton presided betray the prevalence of recidivism, or punish "stubbornness" as a particular wrong.[197] Margaret Warde, who was "agayne" brought to Bridewell "at the commandment of M[aster] Grafton" in July 1561, had been "comytted unto the laborr this house" already once in 1559 "not only for whordom" but also because was a "filthy vagabonde."[198] The next year, "Anne Naylor," who "hath been before this time in this House of bawdry, and now againe," was personally brought to Bridewell by "M[aster Ackworth, M[aster] Newmane, and R.G."[199] A few years later, at a session held on May 9, 1562, one "Richard Bruton" was "brought into this house . . . at the commandment

of M[aster] Grafton by colman his beadell . . . for that he enticed George Wood a boy and servant in the said house to run away."[200] A few days later, a John Johnson reappears: "John Johnson Robert Bradley and John Henson three Idle vacabondes brought into this house the [4th] of maye by the masters of the hospital for that they were taken steaylinge loytiringe and Idellye wanderinge aboute the steates and therefore committed to the labor of this house . . . John Johnson whipped."[201] Earlier on, "John Johnson" had already been "brought into this house" by a beadle "for that he is an Idle pilfering [and] pinkinge knave," and was "therefore whipped . . . and delivered."[202] The additional specification of whipping in the later instance, noted on its own line after the main entry, suggests this is the same John Johnson, a recidivist or so-called old guest. On the same day of Johnson's reappearance, stubbornness is singled out in two other entries as a transgression in need of particular redress: "Roberte Smithe brought into this house" because he was "stubbornlie behaved and misused him self towards his . . . m[aster] and spent his money Lewdley and therefore was well whipped . . . and delivered to his M[aster] againe."[203] In the next entry "Christopher Eden" is also punished partly for stubbornness: "Christopher Eden brought into this house the [4th] of maye at the commandment of the wardens of merchantaylors for stubbornness and misbehavioure of him selfe towardes his m[aster] and at their commandment Delivered the same [4th] Daye againe to his m[aster]."[204] "Bridget Warde an olde guest & singleewoman of this house" who had been placed as a servant with one "Mr Harris . . . uppon hope she wolde there continue" was instead returned to Bridewell because she "at no time tarried there but like a most vile and naughty harlot went ranging about the streets, and being so taken was committed to the Matron."[205]

In many entries, it is the piling on of adjectival phrases rather than specified accusations that seems to represent the persistence of behaviors taken to be transgressive. John Johnson for example was no average knave but an idle, pilfering, and pinking one. On the following page from Eden's "stubbornness," at another session in May 1562, "Thomas Franke a Lewde and naughtie Boye broughte into this House . . . for his lewdness [and] for that he will not tarry in any place but loytre uppe and downe the towne and therefor was well whipped the [13th] of maye and Delivered."[206] Thomas Frank was punished not only for loitering but for "lewdness" preceded by his nominator "Lewde."[207] Seemingly "stubborn" recidivists or old guests would be set to the house of correction's most grueling tasks, such as turning the mill.[208] "The stubborn, and fouler sort, shall be exercised in making of nails and other iron-work," according to the court's directives.[209] "William Vallaunce a vile and naughtie Idle vacabond who before

hathe been in this house" was brought in again by the beadle "for that he is a vile and naughtie idle fellow and yet a good workman & will not in no-wise work and therefore was well-whipped the [11th] of January, and so committed to the labour of the myll."[210] Despite the repetitions of Vallaunce's negative qualities, he must have been able-bodied or seemed to have some potential as a "good workman" if only he could be brought around, and so was sent to the even more punishing "labour of the myll."[211]

The persistence of vice or recidivism, rather than the correction of faults or uptake of new behaviors, would seem to have been the common experience for Grafton in his work for Bridewell and the hospitals, even among his own employees. In one case in 1558, Grafton gave testimony against a beadle already punished for sexual immorality, who had failed to reform his ways. At a joint court "holden the seconde of May 1558," "Informacion was geven by m[aster] Grafton againste the evell lyvinge and dronkenesse of Henry Smyth beadle."[212] According to another beadle, Smyth had previously been found "in a harlotts house" "aboute shrovetyde last" for which he was "set in the stocks and a paille of water powered upon his hed."[213] Not only was the offender a beadle, but the woman involved was the wife of "Holden late Cooke of Bridewell."[214] And yet, "sythence that time," according to the information given by Grafton, Smyth had not given up his relation with Holden's wife: "He hath and yet doth followe the companye and haunte the house of the said harlotte."[215] As the "cooke" at Bridewell, Holden must have helped with the baking of bread for Christ's Hospital, with which Bridewell had been charged earlier that year; at a meeting of Christ's governors in November 1557 where Grafton presided, "It was agreed that the breade to serve this hous shalbe made heraftre at Bridewell, and to delyver 3 loves for 2 d. and everye loof to contene 20 ounzes."[216] In another case, in June 1561, governors including Grafton gave audience to a complaint about the corruption of Bridewell's matron: "It was complained . . . that the matron of this house doth boord sundry of the prisoners of this House and doth use them to her gayne, [and] also employeth the said prisoners upon her own woork."[217] In response it was reiterated that "from hencefoorth the sayd matron neither any other matron that hereafter shall succeed . . . neither any other officer of this house, shall boord any prisoner, nether give any of them any other dyet than the common dyet of this house, neither occupy nor set them in the exercise of any other manner of woork, but only in the common work of this house."[218] Richard Grafton's name is the first on the list of governors endorsing this order.[219]

Although the court books offer tantalizing glimpses into the interwoven lives of these institutions and their individual members, and although these

documents make recidivism a prominent theme, one should note that the court books are primarily records of entries, punishments, exits, and reentrances only. Anyone who left the house of correction and never returned, and might thereby constitute the institution's success, also leaves no repeating records of their presence. Some entries suggest improvement underway: "James Turvey a vagabond brought into this house for givyng counsel to a prisoner to have resisted an officer, but for that he laboured very well at the Myll he was at thistime pardoned & delivered the [5] of April 1561."[220] (Although, if Turvey had indeed been giving counsel on resistance, perhaps his obedient labor was simply a means to his pardon.) Many, many other entries cite the "hope of amendment" with which they discharge offenders.[221] The first court book's very first entry begins this pattern. "Morgan Evance" was brought to Bridewell for misbehaving as a servant but quickly "upon the submission of the same Morgan with hope of amendment, he was at this time released promysing that hereafter he will so bear and behave himself during the days [and] hours that he shall remayn in service of his said master, that he will not only at his return home ask his sayd master's forgiveness but will also . . . beware that he abuse not himself unto them . . . , in witness whereof he the said Morgan hath hereunto subscribed his name." Morgan's mark, "x," follows the entry.[222] Although "Margaret Lewes" had allowed "evil rule" in her master's home, she "now is very repentant and promiseth the amendment of life."[223] "John Harrison brought into this house the [3] of February 1559 as a vagabond . . . delivered the [7] of February 1559 upon hope of amendment."[224] "Margaret Whaley upon an humble of submission and promise of the amendement of her life was from hence delivered . . . and there was present at this delivery . . . Richard Grafton."[225]

Again and again in Bridewell's earliest court books, Grafton can be found crisscrossing the institutions of the house of correction, Christ's Hospital, and even his own household and print shop, not only to enforce his norms of morality and industriousness but to enact them through those under his correction. "Richard Bradem" was "broughte into this house the [18th] of June at the comandement of m[aster] Grafton by his man for pilfering & picking and embezzling his money, plate and other things."[226] On the same day a "Richarde Page" was "brought into this house" "at the commandment of the masters of christes hospital."[227] The next week, "William Owen servaunte to m[aster] grafton broughte into this house . . . by the commandment of the said m[aster] grafton by staples the cunstable and colman beadell."[228] There the entry ends, without reporting what Owen was accused of or how he was punished. Instead, blank space is left on the page where presumably these further details were meant to be returned to.

It might seem curious that Grafton would bring his own servants to the house of correction, rather than reprimanding them in the domestic sphere or the printing house and setting them back to work there. Perhaps Grafton thought that Owen needed to experience the more sharply enforced work-discipline of Bridewell, in order to carry those habits back into the household or the print house, both at Christ's Hospital. Or perhaps Grafton's household, business, and civic enterprises were simply so integrated that it would have been his practice to have his own domestic servants disciplined at the house of correction.

Grafton's intellectual culture ought to have struggled to countenance the so-called stubbornness and recidivism of old guests and the corruption of the house of correction's own keepers and matrons. Because civic and Christian humanism placed such an emphasis on the profit and practical efficacy of its programs, these widely experienced failings might have been cause for existential concern. As the Howes manuscripts demonstrate, these issues were debated among the governors; yet "Dignity" and "Duty" ultimately considered these issues as corruptions to be reformed rather than evidence of a deeper contradiction in the application of humanist principles to carceral institutions.[229] At the same time, there were ambivalences within the culture of civic and Christian humanism that continued to support the ideas behind the house of correction, even in the face of the institution's own inefficacy. First of all, while the Protestant ethic emphasized working in a calling and valorized spiritual and economic profit, it also justified any number of efforts to enforce those norms. "Man (sayeth Job) is borne to labour," according to the "Homilee Against Idlenesse": "It is the appointment and will of God, that every man, during the time of this mortal and transitorie life, should geve himself to some honest and godly exercise & labour, and every one to do his owne busine, & to walke uprightly in his owne calling."[230] (Although Grafton printed the first book of homilies in 1547, he was not responsible for the second volume in which "Against Idlenesse" can be found.) But whereas in the Protestant imagination the essential or eschatological facts about an individual or even about society could hardly truly be changed beyond God's providence, in the classical inheritance and the humanist curriculum, the ideology of human malleability contained a more radical and ambiguous potential.

The Aristotelian idea that virtue of "character (*êthikê*) . . . results from habit (*ethos*)," as the original notes, emphasizing the shared etymology, is an important component for this brand of humanism, which could understand actions and activities compressed into *ethos* or habits as a polyvalent power both for control and change, immediate reform and longer-term reformation.[231] In Grafton's

edition of the *Ethics*, a distinction is drawn between matters natural, such as the ability "to see & to here," where the "power goeth before the acte" or comes without calling, whereas in "thinges moral," aligned with nurture, human making must be exercised: "The acte and worke goeth before the power."[232] Thus "a man hathe the vertue that is called Justice because he hathe dooen ofttymes the workes of Justice: Also the vertue of Chastitie: for that he hath diverse times wrought the workes of Chastitie."[233] We are what we habitually do, but we can also *become* what we habitually do, for better and for worse. Ethos leads to ethics. "And so it is with Artificers," the text continues: "A man is called a Carpenter because he hathe wrought long in that art & craft: Art wil not be had without long time bestowd therin."[234] This humane emphasis on the ongoing process of becoming—a different person, a better one, an agent whose moral virtue is embodied like a craftsman's knowledge of their craft—also creates a longer-term framework in which to recuperate the failings and steps backward along the way.

Grafton's intellectual traditions and practical training valorized the human subject but also objectivized that notion as a product of correction or corruption, and thus offered an ambiguous or even internally inconsistent sense of moral virtue as another *technē* or craft that, in this life at least, could be justifiably molded, made and remade for individual or societal change: tilted toward reform no doubt and perhaps toward more radical reformation as well, but not to the exclusion of the possibility for a reverse operation or an unjust result. Perhaps these ironies were even a solace to the governors when faced with unrepentant individuals such as Mr. Johnson, or misbehavior among their own ranks, as in the case of the corrupt matron mentioned earlier, or simply with the prevalence of returning "guests." In instances of missteps or crimes, Grafton's edition of the *Ethics* makes a distinction between wrongs committed willfully by individuals and those compelled by social circumstances: between a thief who chooses to steal out of "malice" as opposed to someone who might "fall to stealing or other evill dedes" out of necessity.[235] Although "there is no pity to be taken excepte thei repente and amende themselfes," if indeed they do "repente and amende," a characteristic optimism about the possibility for virtuous "operacion" to overcome wrongful deeds or even wrongful "habits" once again takes hold.[236] Grafton's belief in the power of work to change one's way of being in the world was supported by classical inheritances alongside Christian ones. At the same time, the house of correction hardly needed to succeed in teaching hard lessons or useful skills in order to simply enforce the enactment of labor, a moral virtue in and of itself for Christian humanists, and one that could in good faith be believed to lead toward fruitfulness rather than idleness, painfulness rather than stubbornness.

Conclusion

The individual and institutional undertakings of a reformer such as Richard Grafton prompt several interdisciplinary questions, some of which were posed at the outset of this book. How should we understand the relationship between theory and practice, especially in the situations and contexts described in Bridewell's court minutes? If we take the secondary, indirect but still normative influence of civic and Christian humanism more seriously, can we deepen our understanding of the house of correction? Conversely, if we take the house of correction more seriously as an arbiter of humanist culture, how should we revise our understanding of early modern humanism? First, due to humanism's determination to "produce an active embrace" of its ideas through the practical application of its methods in real-world situations, dichotomies between theory and practice, between ideals and reality, or even between rhetorical ruses and political realities—however helpful or plausible those distinctions might be—do not suffice.[237] Particularly on the question of corporal discipline in classroom pedagogy, as Lawrence Stone has argued, humanist theory and practice bore "little relation" to one another; despites claiming and promoting a gentler reputation, humanist discipline became if anything "more brutal."[238] These hypocrisies in the schoolroom recontextualize the hypocrisies of the house of correction, where efforts not only to "teach a lesson" but to enact new behaviors through individualized sentences and the moral reeducation of hard labor also continued to depend upon the even more brutally coercive force of the whipping post or the immiseration of the mill, rather than the birch or ferular. Ultimately, I adopt the phrase "carceral humanism" from critics of our contemporary carceral-industrial complex as a means of describing and warning against not only the transhistorical capacity of carceral systems to co-opt humanist rhetoric but the original humanist tendency toward a universalizing applicability that undermines its own coherence, witnessed here in the application of humanist reforms to carceral institutions such as prisons, houses of correction, and early workhouses, but even more fundamentally in the willingness of civic and Christian humanism to simultaneously seek to specify individuals and yet to treat them as means to society's ends.

At the outset of the present chapter, I also put forward two more specific questions: How did corporal punishment feature within the vocational curricula at both the house of correction and at Christ's Hospital; what was the role of humanist linguistic practices in both those institutions? The answers trouble the distinction I have sought to draw between the direct impacts of carceral

humanism and the indirect yet normative influences of the culture of correction. The extensive use and theorization of the importance and necessity of corporal punishment found in the humanist handbooks and textbooks of greatest relevance to Grafton or Howes or the schoolrooms at Christ's Hospital and later Bridewell offer the most obvious examples of how a culture of correction elaborated primarily in a pedagogical context then set the terms and conditions for these carceral institutions. On the other hand, the linguistic practices that were shared across these institutional contexts were revealing in a different regard. Bridewell's court minutes, however haphazard or incomplete they sometimes seem, also record and index individual entrances and reentrances; they detail the institution's own corruption scandals and internal investigations alongside its persecutions of the innocent but "idle"; they allow insights into the administrative culture of an institution that was making no internal effort to obscure its own abuses, but rather appeared intent upon facilitating and improving its functions, however differently we might now view those functions—to criminalize rather than to relieve the poor, primarily. Language practices were an especially common instance of what Bourdieu called the "analogical transfer" of habitus across institutional thresholds, made especially apparent in Grafton's work as a printer and publisher, as well as the ethos-shaping alluded to in the rhetorical framing of his printed texts, especially his history books.[239] The shared project of correcting vernacular texts and language, which began in the institutional setting of the print shop but continued in a reader's amending hands, was one among these ethos-shaping processes. The ideological project of the house of correction, which sought to teach its lessons not only through painful repercussions but by enacting disciplinary labors that would become the self-discipline of steady employment if not a vocation, was analogized to those processes, as commentators such as Norton or Stow suggested. This shared cultural ethos was apparent, albeit in a different and much lower-stakes way, in the texts issuing from Grafton's printing house in Christ's Hospital, and even in the processual actions of anonymous readers, continuing page by page, making their corrections.

Coercion produced through pain and suffering, confinement and shame, on which the house of correction and to a lesser extent Christ's Hospital relied, was of a different order. And yet it was civic and Christian humanism that nevertheless provided intellectual justifications and practical models for these abuses. Humanism, more straightforwardly than Protestantism, supported the theory that behavior, ethics, and society were malleable, and that punishment might teach a lasting lesson if enacted through labor. Humanism provided the practical model of lay institutions through which to organize: institutions closer to schools

than parishes and independent from churches if by no means secular; institutions distinct from guilds or monasteries and far removed from feudal estates but that would nevertheless regather some of their societal functions. Foucault would later describe "a great carceral continuum" that "diffused penitentiary techniques into the most innocent disciplines."[240] But in early modern England, the reverse had been underway for centuries. Humanist institutional culture, humanist education, and even some aspects of the broader humanist culture of correction were engaged alongside the interwoven ideologies and demands of Protestantism and early capitalism in building out from their own beliefs and methods a wider "carceral net" of subtle gradations and "compact institutions," including print shops such as Grafton's within the school of Christ's Hospital; a house of correction as the disciplinary arm of the ancient hospitals; dozens of houses of correction arising across the country alongside not only the old gaols but also the Tudor grammar schools.[241] Their ultimate effect was not only the proliferation of a "schooled subject" who would "desire his own ideological subordination," as Halpern put it, but an entire society that would recognize human potential for improvement and the "hope of amendment" as a nearly universal good, capable of justifying any number of policies and disciplinary practices.[242] This "hope" has indeed been among the most enduring inheritances of humanist culture, handed down for centuries alongside its carceral inversions or instantiations, beginning in so many ways with houses of correction.[243]

CHAPTER 3

Jurisdictions of "Correction, and Instruction" on Shakespeare's Stage

"Our *Cities Institutions*"

Go mend, go mend . . .
Take him to prison Officer:
Correction, and Instruction must both worke
Ere this rude beast will profit.

—*Measure for Measure*

The Bridge Between Bridewell and Blackfriars

The bridge between the house of correction at Bridewell and the former monastery of the Blackfriars, where Shakespeare's indoor theater was located after 1608, was a wooden gallery bridge, spanning the open sewer of the Fleet river.[1] The structure had been built in 1522 for the visit of Emperor Charles V to create a passage between the Dominican monastery where the Emperor was accommodated and Henry VIII's palace where the visiting retinue was stationed; it remained in place until the Great Fires of London in 1666.[2] During that century and a half, even as the purposes of the two complexes it joined were altered almost beyond recognition, the Bridewell-Blackfriars bridge continued to connect these locations. In 1603, John Stow's *A Survey of London* reports a bridge "of Timber" between "the precinct of the Blacke Friers, and the house of Bridewell."[3] John Strype records the sixteenth-century "gallery," "being made over the water, and through the wall of the city, into the . . . lodging at the Black Friers[.]"[4]

Maps such as *Civitas Londinum* (made between 1561 and 1570, attributed to Ralph Agas) and the atlas *Civitas Orbis Terrarum* (1572) show a covered bridge; comparing these citywide maps with ground plans of Bridewell and Blackfriars, it appears that the passage funneled foot traffic from the great staircase that was Bridewell's main entry, in its outer courtyard, directly into the western range of Blackfriars, in which the medieval Parliament Hall, later the theater, was located.[5] The significance of this threshold shifted laterally but over time as well. In the days of Henry VIII, when the momentous proceedings of his divorce from Katherine of Aragon were carried out in the very same hall at Blackfriars that would one day become the theater, the liminal space between these two buildings connected a palace and seat of the centralization of royal power, on the one side, to the negotiation of jurisdictional complexity on the other: Westminster, Parliament, and municipal authorities, as well as the ecclesiastical and foreign ones represented in the monastery. By Shakespeare's time that bridge connected the whipping posts and workshops of England's house of correction, on the one side, to the candlelit spectacles of the country's first public indoor theater, on the other.[6]

Like the entirety of the Fleet river itself, which was funneled underground and paved over in the mid-nineteenth century, the bridge between Bridewell and Blackfriars is mostly forgotten today. The prison's proximity, and the physical danger it represented, could never have been far from mind for early modern dramatists, players, and theatergoers, however. The legislation that established houses of correction (14.Eliz. c.5, 1572; 39 Eliz c.4, 1597; 1Jas.1 c.7, 1603) classed "common players" alongside vagrants and vagabonds, liable to be criminalized in the same ways: "sent to the house of Correction . . . whipped . . . and if they stil persist in Playing after these corrections; they may bee burned with an hot burning Iron . . . with a great Roman R in the left shoulder, which letter shall there remaine as a perpectuall marke of a Rogue," as enemies of the theaters such as William Prynne were only too eager to remind actors and authorities alike.[7] Shakespeare and his company, the Lord Chamberlain's Men and later the King's Men, depended upon the legal fiction of their noble and royal patronage to defend against the premise of vagrancy as grounds for politically motivated persecution. Henry Chettle observed in 1592 that just as "the Rogue that liveth idly is restrained" so the "plaier that is maisterlesse is in the same predicament."[8] On several occasions, Bridewell was indeed used for these kind of persecutions. Thomas Kyd never recovered from the treatment he suffered in Bridewell in 1593, as part of the investigations into Christopher Marlowe's supposed atheism.[9] In 1606, following a performance of John Day's controversial *The Isle of Guls* at the Blackfriars

theater, several of the players and theatrical agents were taken to Bridewell to be punished, perhaps taken across that same bridge.[10] And yet, just a few years later, in 1608–9, Burbage and Shakespeare's company, now the King's Men, established their winter stage at the Blackfriars; Shakespeare himself leased the gatehouse of the former monastery as a London residence in 1613.[11] However much a figure such as Shakespeare might have resented London's house of correction or cast a wary eye toward Bridewell's three-story towers on the Thames, it was also simply an unavoidable part of the urban landscape in which he worked and lived.

This chapter will consider how playwrights including Thomas Dekker, John Fletcher, Thomas Middleton, and especially Shakespeare reshaped stories from Bridewell for their stages, particularly for the stage at the Blackfriars. My central cases will be two plays: Shakespeare and Fletcher's *Henry VIII* (c. 1613) and Shakespeare's (and possibly Middleton's) *Measure for Measure* (c. 1604), both of which depict or are set in Bridewell, and both of which are thought to have been produced at one point or another at Blackfriars.[12] I will argue that the experiences of these plays, as well as their possibilities for "radical" rereadings—in Isobel Armstrong's use of the term "radical" to denote social and cultural experiences that are part of everyday life for the widest possible segment of society—can be grounded in the cultural histories of these two institutions: the house of correction at Bridewell, and the theater next door at the Blackfriars, in the former monastery.[13] This chapter focuses on space itself as a means of jurisdictional but also cultural and dramatic significance, in part by elaborating upon the importance of London's so-called liberties as the legal underpinnings of both the prison and the theater. These privileges, which were used to protect early modern theaters such as the Blackfriars, were also used to justify the new house of correction at Bridewell. Although the implications of these jurisdictional precincts have long been highlighted by theater historians, their explanatory power has largely been disregarded in recent inquiries into the questionable legal status of the house of correction. At the same time, by comparing the repurposing of space for carceral means within Bridewell to the efforts to recreate a theatrical stage within the great hall at the Blackfriars, and by examining how these processes were depicted and charactered in early modern drama, the present chapter adds carceral space to the ethos-shaping practices considered in the chapters of this book thus far, including pedagogy, rhetoric, textual habits. Thus, while attending to the site-specific ways early modern dramatists addressed Bridewell from their stages, this chapter also aims to contribute to our broader sense of how space functions within institutional culture, whether abetting carceral or aesthetic purposes.

This chapter will therefore discuss the repurposing of spaces by figures including Bridewell's administrators and Blackfriars's impresarios, but also Mary Newborough, the leader of a prisoners' revolt at Bridewell in 1602; Thomas Stanley, keeper, corrupter, and yet advocate for Bridewell, whose controversial tenure led to Newborough's revolt; as well as Katherine of Aragon, first wife of Henry VIII, several decades earlier. I will examine their actions as recorded in the house of correction's court minutes or glimpsed in other historical documents but also as transmuted into drama, in *Measure for Measure* and *Henry VIII* especially. My hope in doing so is to demonstrate a contextual way of reading play-texts for spatial resonances that bring out what would have been the theatrical action's "embeddedness in the ordinary processes of being alive," as Armstrong phrases it, just as the previous chapters have attempted to resituate ideas and practices of correction within the daily experiences of other individuals: key administrators, anonymous readers.[14] By focusing on practices and materials—in this case the candles, curtains, windows, walls, light, barricades, tools, platforms, locks, whipping posts, pillars, but also jurisdictions—that made both carceral and dramatic spaces, this chapter also applies further pressure to historical and epistemological traditions circumscribed by textual transmission and centralized legal history, which tend in this period to de-emphasize the experiences of women, the poor, disenfranchised, or criminalized. In this way I hope my arguments will find resonance with Armstrong's case for cross-disciplinary attention paid to "experience in space," both literary and historical, as a way of conveying "the brute given of irreducible territorial power and [the] psychic imagining of . . . felt experience."[15] I extend this suggestion by adding that, even more so than a focus on space or spatial performativity in general, incarceration and the architecture of carceral spaces might provide an especially powerful link between "the intransigent material world and the cultural imaginary."[16] My hope is that analyzing subjects in spaces, as early modern drama did, might offer the possibility of "reaching *new* models of relationship rather than reproducing, albeit oppositionally, the old patterns," as Armstrong suggests.[17] Physical space could be a means of "Correction, and instruction," but also a means of expression, as both the carceral and dramatic examples that follow will show.[18]

The Prison's Liberty

The house of correction's institutional records make the practical and legal importance of place apparent from early on. When John Howes set himself the

task of explaining the house of correction's hopes, purposes, and even its abuses to a new generation of governors, nearly three decades after its founding, he himself addressed the topic. In the 1582 manuscript, Howes's "familiar and frendely discourse dialogue" describes the establishment of Christ's Hospital, to provide "lodging and learning" to the city's orphans, and the reformation of Bridewell, as a place where "the idell and lustie roges as well men as women should all be taken up and . . . compelled to labour."[19] Five years later, in 1587, Howes prefaced his second manuscript with an epistle "To the Right worshipful and my very good Frends . . . . And governors of J. Criste his hospital," which explains the gap between the two manuscripts, but has never been included in the transcriptions and reproductions that have circulated since the nineteenth century.[20] "It is almost five years paste sithens I presented to your worships a rude discourse of the firste exertions of your Hospitals, in which I promised to sett down my opinion of . . . the abuses of the time present, with remedies for the fault," Howes writes.[21] Howes had been hampered by a mishap of some kind: "I fownd not by what meanes some of the leaves weare burnte and some torne out, so that when I cam to peruse over my booke I found all out of order . . . it was a longe time before I could frame myself to amend that which some had marde."[22] For a moment the physical effort to brace and "frame myself" to the discursive task doubles the ethical task of finding answers or "remedies for the fault" of the "absuses of the time present" in the practices of the past: "to amend that which some had marde" refers to setting right the manuscript that had been partially destroyed, but also suggests the task of setting the institution itself back on course. The epistle concludes: "Yours in what I may or I am / John Howes."[23] In Howes's copious sign-off, he declares himself to belong to his institutional context ("yours") as far as his own will or perhaps even his being can extend ("what I may I am") but failing that to remain essentially himself, John Howes.

Howes goes further than any of Grafton's chronicles in rehearsing the events that led to Edward VI agreeing to the repurposing of Bridewell, even furnishing "A Coppie of the same supplicacion" from Grafton and other civic leaders that accompanied Bishop Ridley's oft-noted sermons.[24] The governing rhetorical device of the supplication, which is written in the voice of the poor themselves, is *ethopoeia*; set within the dialogue between Dignity and Duty, this personation reflects and amplifies the structure of the manuscript as a whole. "We the miserable sore sicke & frendless people beseche your gracious master to cast upon us your eyes of mercy & compassion," the petition begins.[25] The good citizens of London have already "so lovingly and tenderly . . . provided healpe" for "the

virtuous educacon and bringing upp of our miserable and poore children," and also have plans "in a readines" to provide "moste profitable and wholesome occupacons for the continuing of us and ours in godly exercise, by Reason whereof we shall no more falle into that filthie puddle of idellness, which was the mother and leader of us into beggary and all mischief, but from henceforthe shall walke in that freshe fielde of exercise which is the guider and begetter of all wealthe verture and honestie."[26] The metaphorical transition from the "puddle of idleness" to the "fresh field of exercise" subtly indicates the specific geography of Bridewell itself, which was built on reclaimed land and thus prone to flooding.[27] Howes reports that the palace could not be reached without splashing through "stincking lanes or over a filthy ditche w[hich] did so continually anoye the house, that the kinge had no pleasure in it," subtly suggesting a personal and practical reason, beyond godly charity, why the Crown might have been open to finding other uses for the property.[28] The supplication continues to figuratively suggest this setting: "Deliverance from that wretched and vile estate" of idleness "cannot be attained for lacke of harbor and lodging . . . And therefore . . . Our sute most soverainge is for one of your houses called Bridewell."[29] If the King consented, Bridewell would be transformed from the "puddle of idleness" to a "fresh field of exercise" where "all idell Ruffians and taverne haunters vagabonds beggers and all persons of ill name and fame both men and women" could be "apprehend[ed] and sen[t] and comitte[d]" . . . "to punishe or correcte as shall seme good."[30] Howes' dialogical history and its inset supplication also reveal a concern with the geographical and architectural possibilities represented by these new institutions, which will be the topic of this chapter: how a location such as St. Bride's Well could become Bridewell (palace) and then Bridewell (prison); how such spaces become imbued with human meaning but also how such spaces have the potential to reshape the human subjects "lodging and learning" within them.[31]

Soon after receiving these various supplications and sermons, Edward VI signed the letters patent for Bridewell, a document which runs to seventeen folio pages, the first eight of which constitute a massive list of the lands and tenements across England whose rents were to be folded into the funding scheme for this new venture—for Bridewell, particularly, but also for Christ's and St. Thomas's hospitals as well.[32] As promised in the indenture or contract sealed two weeks earlier, the grant of Bridewell, "his Grace's manor howse and place called Bridewell" (later "the said manor howse or place") was combined with the grant of the adjacent lands of the Savoy Hospital and its rents, as well as its household goods, down to the bedding, "potts" and "pannes," candlesticks, and

other movables—excepting two bells, a big bell and a small bell, upon which the Crown still had designs.[33] The details of the legal transfers undergirding Bridewell's renovation were apparently well known and uncontroversial enough to appear in Stow's *Survey* (1603) and shortly thereafter on the stage.[34] In Thomas Dekker's *The Honest Whore* (composed 1604–6), the audience hears of "That famous Prince" who

> . . . gave free possession
> Of this his Palace, to the Cittizens,
> To be the poore mans ware-house: and endowed it
> With Lands to'the valew of seven hundred marke,
> With all the bedding and the furniture, once proper
> (As the Lands were then) to an Hospitall
> Belonging to a Duke of Savoy.[35]

Warehouse and workhouse were common variants for one another, ironically enough. In the details of Bridewell's actual letters patent, much the same information can be obtained. There, the considerations of the transfer are arranged syntactically in ascending order, arriving at the most important: penultimately, any trees that may be "growing and being" on the hospital's premises ("woodes, underwoodes, and trees whatsoever in and upon the premises, growing and being, and all the lande, grounde, and plotte of the same") and ultimately, the property's legal privileges, or "such liberty, Franchises Jurisdiction and comodities" as the institution previously enjoyed.[36] While the Savoy House itself was retained by the Crown, the former hospital's lands, revenues, and (ecclesiastical) "liberty" were rolled into the new hospital that would be henceforward headquartered at Bridewell, next door. The liberty of the Savoy was thus retained by Bridewell.

Such a liberty contained powerful possibilities, as theater historians have long understood.[37] These precincts of local administration had their roots in a concept of ecclesiastical self-regulation descending from Anglo Saxon law, predating Magna Carta.[38] In London and surrounding its ancient wall, numerous grants of jurisdictional immunity (now more commonly thought of as a franchise) had been made to institutions such as hospitals and monasteries, in this case the Savoy and Blackfriars. As "relics of medieval customs," according to Virginia Gildersleeve, these legal "privileges" (private laws, from the Latin *privus* + *lex*) survived and were repurposed in the sixteenth century along with the buildings themselves.[39] Extremities of both license and justice thrived in these heterogeneous zones: bear-bating arenas, gaming houses, brothels, taverns and theaters

stood among hospitals, monastic buildings, lazar houses, prisons and scaffolds.[40] The liberties were some of the most vivid examples of what Bradin Cormack has described as the "jurisdictional" turn of early modern thought, when "liberty and jurisdictional privilege were live institutional questions for Londoners generally."[41] London's liberties were primary concerns for those questions, as "virtually ungoverned areas where the city had authority but, paradoxically, no control," according to Stephen Mullaney.[42] And yet these juridical anomalies also served to strengthen the state or the city's control in paradoxical ways, by tacitly allowing vice to thrive in a regulated set of unregulated spaces, but also by allowing governmental authorities to experiment as well. These civic and social structures remained "remarkably stable for centuries," Mullaney writes, "primarily because it made room for what [the city] could not contain."[43] Thus the Liberty of the Clink in Southwark, granted in medieval times to the Bishop of Winchester, sheltered both its famous prison and the Globe (among other stages). In the same way, though much less discussed, the liberties of Blackfriars and of Bridewell provided similar protections for the theater and the house of correction.

There was also another technical aspect to the way in which Bridewell's legal authority relied on literal place. The legal rights previously pertaining to the property of Bridewell Place or palace, as a manor house, enhanced the powers granted through its liberty. According to the letters patent this hybrid institution called "Bridewell" was to "have, holde, and in full right enjoye, use, . . . Courte leet, views of Fraunceplege as in any wause maye . . . belonge Ahassise and assaye . . . goodes and cattales of fellons, and fugitives parkes free warrens and that appteine unto free warrens . . . and all manner of rightes, liberties privleges, jurusidictiones, profites, comodities, and advauntages whatsoever in the said manor, landees, tenement . . . in as ample manor and Forme . . . as our progenitors at any time heretofore have had, holden and enjoyed."[44] Bridewell, as a hospital or "house of occupations" would also maintain the right to hold the various kinds of court sessions used in an ancient manor or great house. This included a court leet, or a local court held periodically in a "hundred," lordship, or manor, whose jurisdiction covered "petty offences and civil affairs of the district."[45] It also included the similar frank-pledge, or "view of frankpledge," a medieval unit of juridical administration and a sessions in which each member of a manor or hundred could be called to account.[46] This meant hosting the periodical assizes, as well as policing felons and fugitives on the premises; it included the right to seize the chattels (as opposed to the lands) of felons (here a general term for offenders) on the premises, but also to "disseise" or "disseize," (to dispossess) said felons of their "seisin"—possession of see, of landed privilege, or specific

rights.[47] All these medieval privileges were to be maintained, in the deeds and indeed in the walls of Bridewell Place, even as its purpose was radically reformed. "Your Bridewell . . ." as the Duke comments in 2 *The Honest Whore*: "for beauty, strength, / Capacity and forme of ancient building, / (Besides the Rivers neighborhood) few houses / Wherein we keepe our Court can better it."[48] Dekker's "Capacity and form of ancient building" recalls the "ample manor and Forme" of Bridewell's propertied jurisdiction.[49] In sum, Bridewell's letters patent show its power derived as much from its "ancient building" as its novel enfranchisement: a real "capacity" of the house of correction was its capacity to continue a feudal past of judicial administration in the changed present.[50]

Sure enough, when Bridewell's legal authority was challenged—as in Anthony Bate's well-known case in 1576–80, or in the corruption scandals of 1602, both topical occasions for the plays addressed in this chapter—the question was one of property. This must be stressed, although the fact is seldom recognized. For early modern lawyers, as well as for Londoners who stood accused either rightly or wrongly in its courtroom, Bridewell's authority to impede individual rights was not a matter of the city versus the Crown, or Crown versus Parliament, or even ecclesiastical versus lay court jurisdiction. Instead, Bridewell's authority was contested as a question of individual rights versus property rights. The most interesting record from "the little hill of documentation" surrounding Bate's case (and Bridewell's legality in general) addresses this matter at length.[51] The legal treatise *A discourse upon the Commission of Bridewell* (1579/87), which is thought to have been coauthored by a young Francis Bacon along with William Fleetwood, Robert Devereaux, and John Dodderidge, seemed intent upon settling the controversy. Although the discourse at first argues that Bridewell's legal structure was unfounded, its authors nevertheless admitted, in their final sentences, that their own arguments would likely not succeed. The *Discourse* at first proceeds through an extensive array of precedent from property law to suggest that there were limits not only to the Crown's prerogative power but to the sovereign's ability to delegate or divest himself of that power. The charter and liberties granted to the monks of St. Bartholomew's by Henry VI, for example, under which "the prior and his monckes should be as free in their church as the kinge was in his crowne," was the essential case since, under Henry VIII, it was found invalid: "for by the lawe the kinge may not any more disable him selfe of his regal superiority over his subjecte, then his subjecte can renounce or avoide his subjection."[52] The King could not give his "superiority" away, even if he wanted to, according to this reading, just as the subject could hardly avoid subjection.[53]

But the most forceful if proto-formalist objection to Bridewell's legality lay in the perception of a contradiction between Bridewell's questionable charter from Edward VI, which granted the governors the right to imprison and punish at their discretion ("Here ye see what the woordes of the said Chartre are") and the principles laid out in the Magna Carta itself, taken to guarantee individuals their freedom from unlawful or unjust imprisonment and punishment ("Now are we to consider what the woordes of the lawes be"): "See magna Charta of the liberties of England, ca. 29: no freman shalbe taken or imprisoned or be disseised of his free hould or liberties or fre customs or be outlawed or exiled or any otherwise destroyed, nor we shall not pass upon him nor condemnpne him but by lawfull judgment of men of his degree or by the lawe of the land."[54] Bacon and his coauthors cited a now-famous passage from the 1225 version of the Great Charter, a passage J. H. Baker has called "a vague promise" that nevertheless became in later centuries "a broad guarantee of personal liberty and a source of protection" (especially against the church).[55] "Nowe if ye doe compare the said Chartre of Bridewell"—which claimed the right to police and punish without any oversight or otherwise established due process—"with the great Chartre of England," the discourse continued, "in matter sence and meaning, you shall finde them merely repugnant" to one another.[56]

That would seem to be decisive. Legal authority to examine and punish could and had been distributed to Justices of the Peace, other officials and institutions—as evidenced by the imprisonment of debtors by commissioners, the policing of poachers by justices, the garnishing of servant wages, the examining of "Riottes Routes & suchlike misdemeanors" by the Star Chamber, and so forth—but this distribution had always been granted and approved by Parliament, whose ratification Bridewell conspicuously lacked.[57] The discourse's final sentence, however, was curiously circumspect: "And thus I do conclude upon the whole matter that the Commission of Bridewell would be well considered of by the learned counsell of the citye, for I do not thinke the contrary but that there be learned that by their greate knowledge in the law are well able either in a *Quo Warranto* or any other accion brought, to defend the same, &c. *finis*."[58] The double negative ("I do not think the contrary but that . . .") and the demi-omission of an object ("learned" is forced to function as a plural noun where learned *men* or learned *lawyers* might be expected) makes the passage difficult to discern. Heath has taken "the general meaning to be, that though he has given reasons for doubting the validity of the Charter, yet it may be that the City counsel may be able to defend it."[59] Griffiths has argued the opposite, suggesting that

"not even someone 'with a great knowledge of the law' had a leg to stand on if he tried to 'defend' Bridewell's commission."[60] I agree with Heath. The conclusion is not a dismissal of Bridewell's validity but a warning to the city's counsel to pay close attention to the matter, for it seems to Bacon and the other authors of the discourse that, despite all the precedents evinced to the contrary, "there be" some lawyers who, by their "great knowledge in the law," would be able to defend the institution, even against any action, any question of *Quo Warranto* ("by whose authority").[61] The improvisational nature of legal interpretation, as Bacon & co. slyly demonstrated in the first half of their discourse by the precedent of the King's imprisonment within his own "superiority," could just as easily result in a confirmation as a refutation of the question, given a different power requiring a different answer.[62]

Bates lost his case, and Bridewell only continued to consolidate the authority vested in its status as property, even without true parliamentary ratification. What Bridewell as the house of correction relied upon was not justice or even a sound legal precedent but rather a kind of catch-22: Within this property we have the right to keep you on this property. But combined with the Charter's extension of Bridewell's policing prerogative to the counties of Middlesex and the lands of the Savoy (a traditional vagrant encampment), it was more than enough. In other words, there was a technical and legal valence to the muddled practical and cultural authority of Bridewell's physical location and its imposing architecture. The forced confinement of the hospitals was indeed built upon the liberties or legal freedom of the monasteries; Bridewell's prior status as a great house, entitled to its own villeins and manorial court, served the illusion of its authority. Bridewell's power did not come simply or primarily from sovereign delegation, but more technically through what Cormack has called "the jurisdictional proposition" that "authority stages itself not just in the hierarchical division of a given sovereign power, but also, bottom up, through the regular practice of power within delimited spheres."[63] The prison's power was structured through the everyday custom materialized as place. Because people were used to the idea that any great house would hold its own court, punish its laborers, and apprehend vagrants, Bridewell could rely on the appearance of ancient custom, on its undergirding of landed privileges, both royal and ecclesiastical. What Bridewell as the house of correction recreated, for the poor primarily, was the past in the present: an entire self-sufficient feudal environment, even as that order crumbled in so many other contexts. But this feat of legal and political theater also left open a raw site for irony and satire, as plays such as *The Honest Whore* and the popular subgenre of the city comedy made clear.

Plotting the Structures of Early Modern Drama

Although they seemed to have become antithetical institutions, Bridewell (prison) and Blackfriars (theater) had much in common. Both were relatively newly repurposed spaces—physically, culturally, and legally. Both institutions began physically, by asserting an "internal, articulated, and detailed control" over and through their architecture.[64] At Blackfriars this meant that the actor and carpenter Richard Burbage had needed to demolish internal partitions, to make way for the tiered galleries of his theater.[65] As many as seven rooms were combined to reunite the space of what had once been the ancient Parliament Hall.[66] The resulting stage, which relied on candlelight rather than daylight, transformed not only the monastery but the experience of English drama itself. Darkened rafters, bright candelabras, and a glittering audience were brought together in a closer environment, offering to an elite but still open public an experience more like that of the court.[67] At Bridewell, on the other hand, Richard Grafton's task had at first been precisely the opposite. He set about partitioning spaces, rather than uniting them: Larger rooms were "severed" into cells, the chapel was fitted out with divisions to keep the shorter-term prisoners from the longer-term apprentices, and lofted spaces for different workshops were installed in the reaches of the Great Hall.[68] In the royal apartments and the strong light of the three-hundred-foot Long Gallery, which was lined with tall windows on both sides and extended south–north toward the Thames, individual studios for finer crafts were established, including the renowned instrument-maker and puppet-maker John Rose.[69] Thus, like the "Torchy friars" next door, Bridewell depended to an unusual extent on the use of its light.[70] One of the house of correction's most important architectural resources was not locked doors or high walls, but the light for its workshops from its palatial windows.

Twelfth Night (with recorded performances in 1602, 1618, 1623) provides an interesting example of how Shakespeare may have been thinking about the architectural ironies of Bridewell in particular, if not of the similarities between Bridewell's transformations and his own stage. *Twelfth Night, or What you will*, unrivaled among Shakespearean plays for the "speed and stenography" of its satirical wordplay, which Geoffrey Hartman has likened to "oral graffiti" (also "musical scrabble"), seems to have been quick to take down Bridewell's use of materials.[71] The comedians create carceral space, or carcerality itself, in a strikingly similar way when they imprison the priggish steward Malvolio. The prisoner appears "*within*" according to the ambiguous stage direction, which might mean that the actor calls his lines from behind the *frons scenae* of the backstage

wall, or from below the surface of the platform stage, in so-called hell.[72] Indeed, Malvolio claims his prison is "darke . . . as hell," but the clown Feste (dressed as the friar Sir Topas) responds to the contrary: "Why it hath bay Windowes transparent as baricadoes, and the cleere stores [clerestories] toward the South north are as lustrous as Ebony: and yet complainest thou of obstruction?"[73] Although it seems like doublespeak for the glass of the clerestories to be "lustrous as Ebony" and oxymoronic for bay windows to be as transparent as a barricado ("a hastily formed rampart of barrels, wagons, timber, stones, household furniture, or any other materials readily available, thrown up to obstruct the advance of an enemy"), these lines also share a direct description of Bridewell's south-north, many-windowed Long Gallery, and its hasty repurposing as one of the most notable spaces in the house of correction.[74] When the bullies of *Twelfth Night* throw together a made-up prison with their words for materials, what they describe is something all too comically akin to what happened at Bridewell, albeit with such serious consequences. *Twelfth Night*'s gaslighting scene may be more local than critics have tended to consider, and its satire sharper for it.[75]

Bridewell's punitive practices had another architectural component that was also shared with early modern theaters: the whipping post. At Bridewell, public "posts for reformation" were erected in the center of each of its two courtyards, and "lusty" whipping poles were installed in every workshop.[76] Meanwhile at outdoor theaters such as the Globe, the pillars that held up the stage's overhanging roof could be used as an impromptu whipping post or stake, not only in the fictional world of the play but in life, as well.[77] William Kemp, Shakespeare's best fool, described how a "noted Cut-purse" was often "tie[d] to a poast on our stage, for all people to wonder at, when at a play they are taken pilfering."[78] No wonder then that Shakespeare's stage-plays seem to repurpose these structural pillars as sites of physical or psychological punishment, when Gloucester is "tied to the stake" for his torture in *King Lear*, for example, or when Orlando mars the trees of *As You Like It* with his shamefully bad poems—both instances in which the pillars of the Globe are surmised to have been put to use.[79] The darkened theater at the indoor Blackfriars might have even called to mind the most notorious (because most hidden) whipping post at Bridewell, in the chamber on its second floor, adjacent to the courtroom. There, the opulent windows and walls had been covered in black curtains.[80] In 1662, the shock of the transformation of this space, in particular, continued to be felt by Ellwood, whose diaries placed special emphasis on the contrast of stepping from Henry VIII's former dining room, "one of the fairest Rooms, that (so far as I remember) I was ever in," into this main whipping chamber: "observing a Door on the farther side, I

went to it, and opened it, with intention to go in: but I quickly drew back; being most affrighted at the Dismalness of the Place. For besides that the Walls quite round were laid all over from Top to Bottom, in Black; there stood in the middle of it a great Whipping-Post, which was all the furniture it had."[81] Tiffany Stern points out that the relatively bare renaissance stage could at times be transformed by "genre-specific hangings": black curtains, for example, to signal a tragedy.[82] The windows at Blackfriars were often blacked-out during day performances, to heighten effects. It seems the same was the case next door at Bridewell.

These sorts of practical and physical overlaps were most often commented upon in city comedies. As a subgenre these plays did not simply reference or stage real London locations and institutions, such as Bridewell and Bedlam in *The Honest Whore* sequence, but rather, as Henry Turner has argued, such productions used their backstage wall to "create scenic units" organized by their charged locations, internalizing the social tensions generated in London's rapid urbanization quite practically, by partitioning themselves into scenes plotted spatially for the platform and backdrop stage.[83] In this argument the most essential unit of dramatic and dramaturgical analysis, the scene, arises not from temporal, textual or printed exigencies, but from the need to mark and differentiate (actual) locations on the stage that in turn doubled as real places in London. Stern sees a similar poetics at work across genres: "the play's structure . . . was both a manifestation and a consequence of the theatre's structure," itself a consequence of London's spaces; the effect unfolds exponentially when the theater and thereby a play's architecture recreated London's literal architecture.[84] Following Turner and Stern, it seems worth considering the most basic and most essential tools for disseminating and understanding early modern play-texts—their internal partitions, their five acts divided into sundry smaller scenes—alongside the division and integration of space within real locations in London, especially in the most immediate examples of Bridewell and Blackfriars. Scholars already rely upon the act divisions within certain play-texts as a primary, internal means of determining the likelihood of that play's production on one stage or another, because the Blackfriars required act intermissions for its candles to be trimmed. Thus, while the stage had originally been created within the hall through the reintegration of divided space (in contrast to the "severing" of open rooms undergone at Bridewell) the form of the play demanded by that space was more segmented, although not at all more regimented: elaborate musical interludes contributed to Shakespeare's late style, noted in the lyricism of romances such as *The Winter's Tale* and *The Tempest*, filled with masques and song—or even the pageantry of the late history play *Henry VIII*.

"We write in water": *Henry VIII* "in the presence" of Bridewell

The contrasts and overlaps between the dramatic renovations that had taken place at Bridewell and Blackfriars offer insights into the ways that Shakespeare's plays took shape and took place—especially Shakespeare and Fletcher's *Henry VIII* or *All Is True*, performed in 1613, which set many of its scenes in both Blackfriars monastery and Bridewell Palace. Sarah Dustagheer has recently adduced new evidence to support the long-standing case for the play's staging at the Blackfriars theater, in the same room where many of its historical events would have happened.[85] But far less has been said about the play's use of that charged space across the bridge. Bridewell's spatial significations suffuse the play, I argue, even down to the smallest bits of language, even down to the idiosyncratic use of prepositions to expose part of the legal arrangement that allowed the historical palace to become a prison, with its "power and aucthoretie" to police ("searche, enquire, and seke out") and punish at the "discreation" [discretion] of its board of governors.[86] That part is place. In the preposition, where place or space enters language on the level of grammar, one can notice how the dramaturgical and documentary modes of *All Is True* coincide with a subtle correction to the litigious as well as extrajudicial methods of power that ordered physical reality in early modern England. The particular preposition that interests me here is "into."

After the extraordinary procession that opens act II, scene IV of *The Famous History of the Life of King HENRY the Eight* (as it was titled in the folio of 1623), the King appears impatient to get down to the business of his great matter.[87] He tells his Cardinal Wolsey to skip reading out his commission from Rome: "What's the need?"[88] But the commencement is protracted by legal formalities to a nearly comical extent. "Proceed," the Cardinal tells the Scribe, who turns to the Crier, who turns back to the King:

> *Scri.* Say, *Henry* K. of England, come into the Court.
> *Crier. Henry* King of England, &c.
> *King.* Heere.[89]

After the Crier repeats the Scribe, one almost expects Henry to then repeat to himself, "Henry, King of England, come into the court." He is supposed to be the one who tells people what to do, after all.[90] But this is Wolsey and Campeius's courtroom now, having been delegated judges by the Pope himself. Since the monarch has already performed his own presence so extensively, his desultory

"here" seems impatient with the jurisdictional limits of his power, caught at the moment his court is transformed into Wolsey's courtroom, which is what the Scribe and Crier, as the law's instruments as well as its recorders, are attempting to effect.[91] How can Henry come "into" a space where he already is? He cannot. Rather, the place must be reimagined, called something else, and written down as something else. Perhaps it was these sorts of details that Henry Wotton commented upon when he wrote after seeing the play in 1613 that it was "sufficient in truth within a while to make greatness familiar, if not ridiculous."[92]

In the irony of the preposition "into," applied impossibly to a sovereign subject who was already "here," queen Katherine of Aragon finds a significant opening. She flouts Wolsey by flouting his Scribe and Crier and the jurisdiction of the session they are transcribing—a documentary process that, as a side-effect, enabled chronicle records such as Holinshed's, and thereby this play, which is thoroughly based on Holinshed. Katherine ignores them precisely by taking them at their word. When the Scribe and the Crier repeat their comedy, calling her "into" a place she already inhabits, she obeys literally, yet sidesteps their commission and their history by using the space in a physical way they can't quite write down and addressing herself directly to her husband and his judgment in the way she believes will be most persuasive for her cause: "*The Queen makes no answer, rises out of her Chaire, goes about the Court, comes to the King, and kneeles at his Feete. Then speakes*," the stage direction reads.[93] (*Henry VIII* is "notable among all plays" in the first folio for its "extensive, elaborate stage directions" recent editors note.[94]) Toward the end of the scene, having made explicit that her appeal is to either her sovereign husband's or the Pope's judgment alone, she departs.

This time Henry's authority is made to feel slightly ridiculous in the opposite way, as he reflexively relies on the formalities he himself was impatient with just moments earlier:

> *Kin.* Call her againe.
> *Crier.* Katherine, Q of England, come into the Court.
> *Gent. Ush.* Madam, you are cald backe.
> *Que.* What need you note it? pray you keep your way,
> When you are cald returne. Now the Lord helpe,
> They vexe me past my patience, pray you passe on;
> I will not tarry: no, nor ever more
> Upon this businesse my appearance make,
> In any of their Courts.[95]

Katherine needs no relayed calling back, because she hasn't gone anywhere. In Holinshed's 1587 *Chronicle*, which is the source for this detail and its wording, the King calls his queen back when he hears that she is "ready to go out of the house," rather than the room, which would make more sense. Transferred to the contiguous space of the "stage"—one period between others, one moment in a developing process—the address is more equivocal. Katherine seems to speak her reply to her usher Griffith or as an aside to herself and the audience, but certainly (or at least partly) not to the King, cardinals, scribes, criers and courtiers who are nevertheless at that moment still occupying "their" court, stage center.[96] She is still *there*, too, but only long enough to continue to deny that she is "here" in the way they (Wolsey and Campeius) want her to be. Though Katherine refuses to allow her mere presence in one place or another to be taken as the sign of her accession to one or another jurisdictional control—to be caught in a catch-22 like that which snared the villeins of Bridewell—her liminal exit is also proleptic of her fate: "I will not tarry: no, nor ever more / Upon this businesse my appearance make, / In any of their courts."[97] She won't submit to this kangaroo courtroom, but nor will she be able to reign over this court as its queen.

Where will she go? One of the most telling examples of *Henry VIII*'s pervasive spatial commentary had arrived just before this courtroom scene, when Henry dispatched Wolsey to "furnish" Blackfriars as the location for his lawyers and bishops to consider his divorce: "The most convenient place that I can thinke of / For such receipt of Learning, is Black-friars: / There ye shall meete about this waighty business."[98] Thus the audience would have known that the play's divorce court was being staged in Blackfriars, as was the historical session in 1528, while the historical Katherine remained in exilic residence next door at Bridewell Palace; she was "then in Bridewell" according to Holinshed.[99] Both Katherines—Shakespeare and Fletcher's, and Holinshed's—have stormed off across the gallery bridge back to "Bridewell."[100] No wonder that it was hard to tell whether she had gone out of the room, out of the house, offstage, or not at all, since these two places were so intimately connected, although as yet their jurisdictions, at the historical Katherine's moment, remained dramatically distinct.

Katherine asserts her as-yet-still royal privilege by returning to Bridewell (Palace), which might have struck audiences in 1613 as poignantly ironic. Sure enough, where Shakespeare and Fletcher's Katherine finds herself was proleptically similar to the Bridewell those future audiences would be familiar with, even down to certain spaces and repurposed chambers within the building. In fact, in these Bridewell scenes Shakespeare and Fletcher seem to have been reading

their source in Holinshed precisely for this particular effect—not merely for a chronicle of events, or for resonant material, but as set of stage directions, if not a floorplan. For example, immediately following Katharine's departure from the cardinals' consistory sessions in act 3, scene 1, she appears in isolation with her handmaidens in Bridewell. When Wolsey and Campeius visit, the dramaturgy is lifted from the chronicle wholesale, down to the detail of which room they were standing in, be it the "privy chamber" or "the chamber of presence." As Holinshed has it:

> . . . the king sent the two cardinals to the queene (who was then in Bridewell) to persuade with hir by their wisdoms . . . The cardinals being in the queens chamber of presence, the gentleman usher advertised the queene that the cardinals were come to speak with hir. With that she rose up, [&] with a skeine of white thred about hir necke, came into hir chamber of presence, . . . quoth she, What is your plesure with me? If it please your grace (quoth cardinall Wolseie) to go into your privie chamber, we will shew you the cause of our comming. My lord (quoth she), if yee have anything to saye, speake openlie before all these folke, for I feare nothing that yee can saye against me, but that I would all world should heare and see it, and therefore speake your mind.[101]

In the play, Wolsey and Campeius await Katherine "in the presence" (where she is not), before asking "to withdraw" with her "Into your private Chamber" but are told by the queen to "Speak it here," for "There's nothing I have done . . . Deserves a Corner."[102] The penitential language of "comfort" for the "sorrow" of reversed "fortunes" pervades the scene.[103] "Would I had never trod this English Earth," Katherine later laments, "like the Lilly, / That once was Mistris of the Field and flourish'd, / Ile hang my head, and perish."[104] The "skein of white thread about her neck" in Holinshed has been amplified to fill not only its penitential setting from 1528 but to conjure the one next door in 1613: The queen and her women appear "*as at worke*" (stage direction), consoling themselves with the comforts of sad songs and handiwork, sewing or weaving or spinning yarn: "leave working," the queen tells her gentlewoman singer; "I was set at worke / Among my Maids, full little (God knows) looking / Either for such men or such businesse," she tells her visitors.[105] Gustav Ungerer, exploring the traditions of spinning songs in Bridewell, such as the "Whipping Cheare," "to the tune of hempe and flax," has suggested such songs lie behind the music of *Twelfth Night*, but I would argue they inflect the songs of *All Is True* even more convincingly.[106] Singing songs like

those of the future Bridewell's yarn-house, Katherine has found herself scorned and disgraced but solaced by work in what Wolsey calls a "place[] of rebuke."[107]

This was the genius of *All Is True*: to impress the future pathos captured in a location backward, so that the audience could feel at once their spatial proximity to history—to the reformation, and to the historical uses of Blackfriars and Bridewell—but also the proximity of that history to their own present, in the presence of the theater and the house of correction next door. That feeling would drastically sharpen the play's political atmosphere. It might even draw the play dangerously close to expressing remorse for the events of the Henrician reformation or the institutional changes begun under Edwardian reformers. These feelings might have been heightened by the sense that the characters onstage, especially Katharine, were themselves tantalizingly close to realizing precisely that future of which they ought to be dramatically unaware.[108] This ghostly quality reveals itself in minutiae, such as the worrying of prepositions, or the repetition of the phrase "in the presence" to refer to the royal Presence Chamber even without royalty present: The room and not the being is the presence.[109] And yet at the same time Katherine's prescience extracted sympathy, even from her tyrannical husband, precisely by pressing on these spatial details, by making the scribes, criers, cardinals, and even Henry himself feel, ever so briefly, the injustice of their silly pretexts and arrangements. Katherine's bold comportment in the divorce-court scene and her subsequent departure across the bridge did have the desired effect, after all, at least for a moment. Henry's immediate response is not anger but admiration: "Goe thy ways *Kate*," he allows, praising her "meeknesse Saint-like, Wife-like Government," and "true Nobility" as befitting "the Queene of earthly Queenes."[110]

In its play with spatial affect, *Henry VIII* goes well beyond the inferable reality of Shakespearean circumstantial mimesis, and well beyond the tropes of the city comedy.[111] Instead the play seems to be steadfastly amplifying the tragic feelings attached to historical places as a means of safely dramatizing an otherwise dangerous sympathy for Catholic figures, such as Katherine and Wolsey. Because it cannot really be a radical play about these figures, it is instead something more radical in the daily, prosaic way Armstrong theorizes. It is a play made from the everyday feeling of fallen places: the feeling of finding a tree you once knew has been removed, or that a neighborhood is gentrifying, or perhaps that a building as monumental as a palace is subject to transformation. This ambivalent feeling of spatial nostalgia is the most important feeling in *All Is True*, it seems to me, and it appears to be so for several of the characters as well. They say so over and over again. In fact, if anything, the play may rely on the conceit too

heavily. Consider extended digressions, such as in act 4, scene 1, when the gossiping, anonymous courtiers pause to discuss the spatial changes brought about by Wolsey's fall.[112] Courtier Three mentions "York Place, where the feast is held," but One interrupts him:

> **1** Sir,
> You must no more call it Yorke-place, that's past:
> For since the Cardinall fell, that Titles lost,
> Tis now the Kings, and call'd White-Hall.
> **3** I know it:
> But 'tis so lately alter'd, that the old name
> Is fresh about me.[113]

For these background figures in *Henry VIII*, keeping up with the historical, religious, and dynastic shifts they were witness to—including the early events of the Reformation, and later the birth of Queen Elizabeth—meant keeping up with the transformations wrought upon specific sites in their capital city. York Place had become Whitehall "so lately" that one could be forgiven, almost, for forgetting its present rather than its past, which remained so "fresh about" the speaker.[114]

If such details fall flat as merely topical, they might be excised or simply ignored. Perhaps these moments of lost spatial significance are instances of the more general qualitative reasons why *Henry VIII* has never been particularly admired among Shakespearean play-texts, along with other reasons, such as mistrust of collaborations and distaste for masques. Perhaps the play depends too heavily on the unspeakable proximity of a sense of history that has since become too distant to really feel. Yet these effects reward recreating. Consider for a final example *Henry VIII*'s most remarkable series of images: of water, social disintegration, the ship of state. The play's preoccupation with the imagery of streams, floods, and dissolution cannot have been accidental, given the intensity of the drama's preoccupation with the significance of place, of space-as-order, and given how frequently this imagery passes through internal divisions from scene to scene. Wolsey's soliloquy upon his fall from such heights of power picks up the theme:

> I have ventur'd
> Like little wanton Boyes that swim on bladders:
> This many Summers in a Sea of Glory,

> But farre beyond my depth: my high-blowne Pride
> At length broke under me, now ha's left me
> Weary, and old with Service, to the mercy
> Of a rude streame, that must for ever hide me. . . .
> I feele my heart new open'd. . . .
> Never to hope againe.[115]

These lines are beautiful, sad, and sad all the more for their humor. There is real pathos in the peculiar detail of Wolsey's simile and its temporal disjunction. Old, broken, and weary, the Great Cardinal is nevertheless like a young boy who has ridden his inflatable device too far out upon the sea of glory. How better to capture the remorseless sympathy of a post-Reformation audience for Wolsey?

The page Griffith returns to this theme again when he offers an apologist's eulogy for Wolsey in act 4, lamenting that "Mens evill manners, live in Brasse," whereas "their Vertues / We write in water."[116] Earlier still, Buckingham, at his own downfall, refers to his death at the executioner's blade as "the long divorce of Steel" falling upon him, and then admonishes the crowd about the fickleness of his dearest friends:

> . . . for those you make friends,
> And give your hearts to; when they once perceive
> The least rub in your fortunes, fall away
> Like water from ye.[117]

The pause of the enjambment between "fall away" and "like water" recreates the breathless sense of Buckingham's loss.[118] This second "fall" supplies the echo to "the long divorce of Steele falls on me," and yet we are left, after the semantic unit is completed, not with fatal steel but with water, a tragically insubstantial substance; though it is also water, in the final acts of this bittersweet yet providential history, which blots out pity for Katherine with the pageant of Elizabeth's baptism.[119]

This imagery is capable of communicating without any direct sense of the subtle, historical displacements. Yet all this language was also involved in an experiential and rather specific comment on the fate of Bridewell, the damp old palace, with its smells, its stinking ditches. Bridewell took its name from St. Bride's Well, known since the eleventh century for the healing properties of its sacred water. Raising of quays on the property had caused legal controversies throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; access to the Fleet was being impeded, people

complained. Then, in the sixteenth century, Wolsey had several more acres of land at the confluence of the Thames and Fleet reclaimed, upon which he built the towering palace's outer courtyard and southern ranges. But as was well known, and as modern archaeology has confirmed, the precinct remained disastrously swampy.[120] The palace's grounds and even its courtyards were often inundated with floods of brackish water. These floods, rather than sour memories of Katherine, were traditionally blamed for Henry's abandonment of the palace—even the founding documents of the house of correction admit that the district's "stinking lanes" and "filthy ditch" contributed to Edward VI's supposedly pious willingness to get rid of his father's old palace.[121] Thus, the entire story of how St. Bride's Well became the site of Bridewell Church and Bridewell Place—and how Bridewell Palace became a prison intended to work individual transformations like never before—was, for a skeptic, written in water. Bride/well offered an architectural parable, as well as a genuinely palpable, metaphorical material for the tragic downfall of the figures in *Henry VIII*, and especially, in this final instance, Wolsey. Wolsey's hubris had indeed raised the palace grounds out of water and built its high towers on so little substance. *Fleet* and *float* are linked etymologically, so that the image of Wolsey like a silly boy in his water-wings was, at the same time, an image of Bridewell itself, built precariously upon an "indent"—a flimsy indenture, as the prison's legal troubles showed—in the Fleet's own "rude stream."[122]

"Moulded out of faults": *Measure for Measure* and the Corruption Scandals of 1602–4

Literary historians have called *Measure for Measure* "an amalgam" of Bridewell, "a thinly veiled image of Bridewell," or simply "Shakespeare's Bridewell play."[123] But what if *Measure for Measure* was staged next door to Bridewell, in the Blackfriars theater, as it seems to have been in 1621, after Shakespeare's death in 1616?[124] How was site specificity used by early modern dramatists to shape the political feeling of such a performance? By attending to the physical and jurisdictional situation of Blackfriars and Bridewell, this chapter offers a different perspective on some of the play's established contexts and central interpretive cruxes, including the house of correction and the question of Isabella's final silence. Kathleen McLuskie has influentially described *Measure for Measure*'s masculinist perspective, demonstrated in Lucio's interruptions, in Antonio's soliloquys, in the Duke's paternal marionetting of the entire plot, but especially in the final reveal of the comedic marriages, when to the unions of Claudio and Juliet, Angelo and

Mariana, and Lucio and Kate, the Duke adds his marriage to Isabel—against her will.[125] When the Duke announces in the closing moments that he will prevent Isabella (yet again) from entering both the "privileges" and "strict restraint" (or liberty) of the nunnery, and thus pursuing the life she had originally chosen, Isabella remains silent.[126] Is the character in shock? Why does Isabella, renowned for her eloquence, have nothing to say? McLuskie has posited that the only properly historical thing to do is to expose the exclusion of a feminist perspective from the play, "refusing the pleasure of the drama and the text."[127] And yet many critics, directors, actors, and audiences read a doubly ironic, recuperative gesture in Isabella's silence. Her refusal to reenter the language of the play can be taken as her final form of resistance to its patriarchal order. Isabella "withholds the verbal assent for which the audience looks at the end of a comedy," Laura Lunger Knoppers notes, and this "blocks closure."[128] Knoppers argues that Isabella's final refusal overturns the conclusion, demonstrating instead "the play's complicity" in the political injustices it merely "professes to interrogate."[129]

If we think of *Measure for Measure* as "Shakespeare's Bridewell play," as Duncan Salkeld in particular has persuasively argued we might, Bridewell's archives offer unexpected help in interpreting Isabella's final position.[130] By focusing not only on a remarkable series of events referenced by the play but specifically on the spatial dynamics of those events, the present reading aims to recreate a more nuanced sense of *Measure for Measure*'s meaning in its own moment—including its silences. In the process I suggest we can recover a feminist interpretation of the play that is both historically accurate and imaginatively sustaining. First, we might note the numerous, broader associations between the play and the prison, which scholars have long recognized. *Measure for Measure*'s primary source play was George Whetstone's *The Historye of Promos and Cassandra* (1578), whose own publication seems to have been occasioned by a Bridewell scandal: the controversy that erupted when Anthony Bate appealed his punishment at the house of correction all the way to the Court of Star Chamber in 1577–80, and in the process unleashed a citywide debate about the prison's legality.[131] Shakespeare may have turned back to this earlier Bridewell play when taking up the topic in 1603–4 because the prison was once again at the height of scandal. *Measure for Measure* had its first recorded performance at court on December 26, 1604, at a time when public outrage over Bridewell's mismanagement had again recently boiled over; failure to ratify the prison's charter in 1601 by Parliament had led to an attempt to privatize the institution in 1602, which turned out disastrously, and led to yet another failure to ratify the charter in Parliament in 1604.[132] There

were also personal or metatheatrical reasons as well. The actor Christopher Beeston had recently stood trial at Bridewell, for reasons examined momentarily.

Measure for Measure's commentary on the house of correction might even be the reason the text of the play has survived at all. As the editors of the *New Oxford Shakespeare* have argued, the text enshrined in the first folio in 1623 as Shakespeare's was adjusted by someone, most likely Thomas Middleton, between October 1621 and early 1622, although these additions and changes affect less than 5 percent of the lines.[133] Allusions to political events have been used to bolster the dating of these revisions, to which circumstantial claims I would add another observation. At this same time (1621–22) yet another parliamentary lobby to ratify Bridewell's charter was underway. This campaign in the early 1620s, and the reemergence during these debates of Thomas Stanley, a notorious character from the 1602–4 scandals, may have been why a playwright such as Middleton revived and revised *Measure for Measure* at what turned out to be an auspicious moment for including the play in the folio; though perhaps preparations for the folio brought the text to light, at an auspicious moment for staging a "Bridewell play."[134] Intriguingly, the adjustments made to the text in the early 1620s also appear to have earmarked *Measure for Measure* for the Blackfriars stage, ready-made for splicing in interval entertainments.[135] William Davenant included *Measure for Measure* in a list of "ancient Playes that were played at Blackfriers" before the closing of the theaters in 1642.[136]

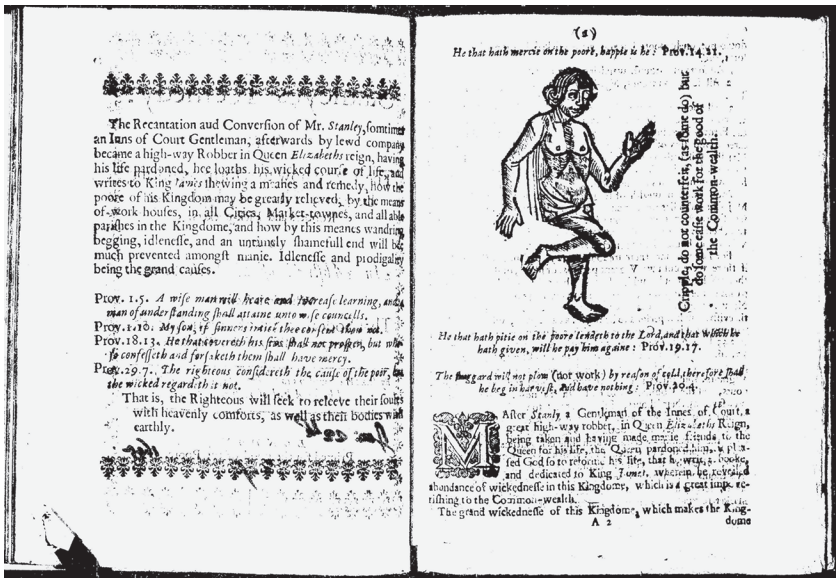
So it appears that, perhaps after Shakespeare's death in 1616 but before the printing of the folio in 1623, *Measure for Measure* was played at Blackfriars, in the very shadow of the prison it also to some extent depicted. In *Measure for Measure*, as in *Henry VIII*, the stage play's aesthetic experience appears to have depended to a degree upon its restatement or rhetorical correction (thereby amplification) of spatial and historical experiences with which it retained an uncanny immediacy and even contiguity. Furthermore, if it now seems at all radical (as Armstrong uses the term) to name the play's formal quality after its continuity with lived experience, this was not unusual at all in the earliest years of *Measure for Measure*'s reception, when the play may have inadvertently depended upon its connection to Bridewell for its revival and thereby transmission. In nearly every sense, *Measure for Measure* was Shakespeare's Bridewell play. One might even argue that the prison and the play—its sources, performances, and printings—grew up alongside one another, from the late 1570s through the early 1620s. But there was one specific episode in the house of correction's checkered history that seems to have inspired the play, in particular.

On March 29, 1602, yet another experiment began at Bridewell. After the failure to ratify its charter in Parliament in 1601, London's lord chief justice, lord mayor, and Court of Aldermen removed the house of correction from the day-to-day management of its original board of governors and contracted out its administration to a group of four undertakers, led by one Thomas Stanley, whose writings were discussed in the first chapter of this book. Stanley's group was meant to be paid £300 per year to Bridewell, or "to undertake the charge, oversight, and guiding of the idle and evil disposed persons" at the house of correction.[137] Prior to this experiment, rumors about Bridewell's brutal whippings and miserable conditions had become so widespread that perhaps it seemed that privatizing the prison could hardly make matters worse.[138] But this did not prove to be the case. Instead, as though "dressed in a little brief authority," Stanley and his cohort went beyond the usual abuses.[139] According to the investigation that began swiftly in the summer of 1602, whose findings are recorded in Bridewell's own court books and corroborated in other municipal records, Stanley and his undertakers had turned Bridewell to their own purposes by running the house of correction as a brothel, rather than a prison: "such lewd women as weare committed unto them for their wicked life, and should have bene kept hard at woorke, and had the Diet of the house, weare suffered to intertaine any that would resorte unto them in as great loosenes as they would have done abroade in their lewd houses, and there were feasted with varietie of wines, and delicate meats."[140] Women prisoners intended to be corrected instead were found in "gorgeous apparel," entertaining "all men of their acquaintance," allowed "liberallie to walk and talk in the fairest rooms in the house and sometimes to shut themselves upp together privately in chambers."[141] Ironically, this corruption was only a return to architectural form. The dishonest keepers threw lavish parties in the old palace, where "sundry gentlemen" enjoyed "the companye of the women prisoners" and feasted on "Crabbes, lobsters, artetichoques, pyes and gallons of wyne at a time," before pairing off in private chambers.[142] (Among the gentlemen paying two to five shillings for these evenings was Sir Anthony Ashley, landlord of the Blackfriars theater.[143]) Meanwhile, Bridewell's actual functions were neglected. The number of prisoners plummeted from above four hundred to below sixty.[144] When word got out and the Lord Mayor and the Aldermen themselves arrived to investigate, they found that the "said women prisoners" were grown "so peremptory and stout" that they "refused to come upp into the courte when they have been sent for before the Lo[rd] maior and Aldermen beinge there present, but have taken the keyes into their owne custodies and have locked themselves upp until the Sherifes officers have been reddie to breake open

their chambers."[145] The women, like Katherine of Aragon before them or perhaps as we shall see like Isabella in *Measure for Measure*, "refuse[d]" to "come upp into the courte" and become subject to its jurisdiction, thwarting that authority in however paradoxical a manner by taking the keys "into their own custodies" and keeping themselves locked in their own chambers.[146]

Thomas Stanley became one face of this scandal, perhaps because his hypocrisy seemed the most glaring. Stanley had been the self-ordained, pamphleteering embodiment of the new house of correction.[147] According to his own widely circulated account, Stanley had been born a gentlemen and was "sometimes an Inns of Court" man (his name appears in the registers of Gray's Inn), yet he had previously fallen into "lewd company" and adopted the life of a "highway Robber[.]"[148] After his involvement with a prison break in 1597, according to a contemporaneous biographical note found copied into more than one miscellany, Stanley was caught again and brought to London, where he was condemned to be hanged.[149] In a sudden reversal, Stanley was not only reprieved from the gallows and set to labor in the house of correction, but set to work *for* the house of correction itself. "By the means of Lord Chefe Justice," John Popham, Stanley was "pardoned & by him preferred to be one of the Overseers or Maysters of Bridwell."[150] "It pleased God so to reforme his life," according to *Stanleyes Remedy*.[151] From then on, Stanley became a lifelong advocate for "houses of Instruction or Correction," submitting petitions to Parliament in their favor (c. 1614–20) and penning a uniquely economic analysis of Bridewell's impact for James I, which was circulated first in 1604 and later became the pamphlet *Stanleyes Remedy*, printed and published more widely in 1646 after its original or supposed author's death.[152] The fact that his memo (or at the very least, his name) survived to be taken up by Samuel Hartlib and his Circle in 1640s as part of their own campaigns for social reform suggests that Stanley remained relatively well known. And yet, when this example of a reformed man was given the chance to actually run Bridewell in 1602, he presided over the institution's complete and utter corruption. What to make of him?

Shakespeare seized the question. "They say best men are moulded out of faults," Mariana comments upon her profligate, once-and-future husband, Angelo; in this seemingly zealous yet equally corrupt administrator, Stanley is sharply charactered.[153] Among the innumerable connections between *Measure for Measure* and Bridewell—Salkeld suggests there is even a match between a "Baradine" in Bridewell's records and Barnadine, the play's inveterate prisoner—this link between Angelo and Stanley may be particularly useful.[154] Some of *Measure for Measure*'s most difficult-to-stomach moments stem from its


The Recantation and Conversion of Mr. *Stanley*, sometime an Inns of Court Gentleman, afterwards by lewd company became a high-way Robber in Queen *Elizabeths* reign, having his life pardoned, hee loaths his wicked course of life, and writes to King *James* shewing a meanes and remedy, how the poore of his Kingdom may be greatly relieved, by the meanes of work houses, in all Cities, Market-townes, and all able parishes in the Kingdome, and how by this meanes wandring begging, idlenesse, and an untimely shamefull end will be much prevented amongst many. Idlenesse and prodigality being the grand causes.

Prov. 1.5. *A wise man will heare and increase learning, and a man of understanding shall attaine unto wise counsells.*
Prov. 1.10. *My son, if sinners intice thee consent thou not.*
Prov. 18.13. *He that covereth his sins shall not prosper, but whoso confesseth and forsaketh them shall have mercy.*
Prov. 29.7. *The righteous considereth the cause of the poor, but the wicked regardeth it not.*
That is, the Righteous will seek to releeve their soules with heavenly comforts, as well as their bodies with earthly.

(5)
He that hath mercie on the poore, happie is he: Prov. 14.21.
Cripple, do not counterfeit, (as some do) but do some easie work for the good of the Common-wealth.
He that hath pitie on the poore lendeth to the Lord, and that which he hath given, will he pay him againe: Prov. 19.17.
The slothfull will not plow (not work) *by reason of cold, therefore shall he beg in harvest, and have nothing:* Prov. 20.4.
After *Stanly* a Gentleman of the Inner of Court, a great high-way robber, in Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, being taken and having made many friends to the Queen for his life, the Queen pardoned him, who pleased God so to reforme his life, that he wrote a booke, and dedicated to King *James*, wherein he reveales abundance of wickednesse in this Kingdome, which is a great impe-dishing to the Common-wealth.
The grand wickednesse of this Kingdome, which makes the King-dome
A 2

Figure 5. The British Library, Thomason / E.317[6]; Wing (2nd ed.) / S5250, A^{v}-A2. *Stanleyes Remedy: or, The Way to reform wandering beggers, theeves, high-way robbers and pick-pockets*, promising "the recantation and conversion of M[aster] Stanley." The image is accompanied by the message: "Cripple, do not counterfeit (as some doe) but do some easie work for the good of the Common-wealth." Courtesy of the British Library and Early English Books Online.

depiction of Angelo as the austere administrator affecting surprise at his own impulses. "What's this? what's this?" Angelo exclaims at the opening of the first of a pair of soliloquys as he attempts to rationalize his hypocrisy.[155] Angelo displays self-awareness enough to question his urges: "What dost thou? or what art thou *Angelo*? . . . what, doe I love her . . . what is't I dreame on?"[156] Although the audience will realize Angelo has never been the "Saint" he pretended to be, given his past behavior toward Mariana, the character himself performs surprise, and cautions against introducing such iniquity to the social order: "Theeves for their robbery do have authority, / When Judges steale themselves."[157] If even Angelo, presiding as judge, should so fail to steel himself against this temptation as to steal his own integrity and authority from himself, thieves will seem justified in doing as they please and he will be no better than a common criminal; his reputation will be as solid as that of a robber known for his robberies (as indeed,

Stanley was). By the second, more remarkable soliloquy, Angelo has thoroughly premeditated his "evil conception":

> When I would pray, & think, I thinke, and pray
> To severall subjects: [God] hath my empty words,
> Whilst my Invention, hearing not my Tongue,
> Anchors on *Isabell*: [God] in my mouth,
> As if I did but onely chew his name,
> And in my heart the strong and swelling evill
> Of my conception: the state whereon I studied
> Is like a good thing, being often read
> Growne seard, and tedious: yea, my Gravitie
> Wherein (let no man heare me) I take pride,
> Could I, with boote, change for an idle plume
> Which the ayre beats for vaine: oh place, oh forme,
> How often dost thou with thy case, thy habit
> Wrench awe from fooles, and tye the wiser soules
> To thy false seeming? Blood, thou art blood,
> Let's write good Angell on the Devills horne
> 'Tis now the Devills Crest.[158]

Angelo has now separated his false piety from his true and base intentions. God (the text was expurgated) has only Angelo's "empty words," as if "I did but onely chew his name."[159] Inwardly, his desire for Isabel both deepens ("anchors") and grows ("swelling").[160] Here as elsewhere in the text he is pregnant with the conceit of his own misdeeds. "The state whereon I studied" is both his own personal identity, the "Gravitie" he has affected and upon which he has meditated, and the affairs of civic government for which he has accumulated so much academic knowledge—a comparison to the number-crunching of *Stanleyes Remedy* might even be warranted.[161] The lines rehearse the play's opening; while vesting him with his authority, the Duke had commended Angelo for the same learning, in much the same terms: "Of Government[,]" and of

> The nature of our People,
> Our *Cities Institutions*, and the Termes
> For Common Justice, y'are as pregnant in
> As Art, and practise, hath inriched any
> That we remember.[162]

But Angelo is burned out. Or so he seems to tell himself. "The state" whereon he studied, and even the ideal of civic government he imagined, is now in reality like a good book read too many times, or "like a good thing, being often read" that has grown "seard" or sere and dry and "tedious."[163] Angelo is bored. He would rather change his weighty seriousness for the life of an "idle plume," floating, vain.[164] He would rather through invention (but in this case, mere lies) "tie the wiser souls"—such as the anchor Isabella—to his new, light, lewd purposes.[165] So he will use his "place" and "forme" to "wrench awe from fooles" as is so often done.[166] He will abuse his power. Or, as Angelo terms power, his "place."[167]

Angelo's behavior is both unethical and sadly ordinary. Like the bathos that conjures from nowhere sympathy for unsympathetic Wolsey in *Henry VIII*, these soliloquys of Angelo's place the reader in an unwonted empathic position, resisting the play's interest in its own antagonist's banality. Wolsey was likened to a boy gone too far out on his water-wings; Angelo is described as a schoolboy bored with his once-favored books. McLuskie comments that "a feminist reading of the scene may wish to refuse the power of Angelo's plea, may recognize in it the double bind which blames women for their own sexual oppression."[168] Angelo's soliloquys make his self-rationalization seem almost unusual, an audience might pull themselves back. To do so "involves refusing the pleasure of the drama and the text," McLuskie observes.[169] If we recognize the satire of Thomas Stanley contained within Angelo, however, we might notice a new register of irony and humor within which to understand the formal emphasis on Angelo's supposed self-awareness. Perceiving the allusion to Stanley, we can hear the full and sadly funny range of Angelo's performance of metanoia—changing his mind, correcting his present self—or rather, uncorrecting himself, taking two steps back again, returning to form.

The scandals of 1602 also had another face, however. This was a woman named Mary Newborough, who led a small-scale revolt against Stanley's guard, and eventually brought his abuses to light.[170] Newborough was apparently well known in London as a sex worker who became even more renowned for her resistance at Bridewell, particularly against the abusive undertaker Nicholas Bywater, who had taken upon himself the particular role of brothel keeper. Bywater had beaten several of the women, including Elizabeth Cam, who was pregnant at the time, "black and blew," as was made clear by her appearance in court on August 11; Cam testified that Bywater hit her "three or 4 blowes w[ith] his fist" and then beat her "w[ith] a bedstaffe" leaving "her bodie . . . balck and blewe."[171] In late July, Newborough confronted Bywater over his abuse of Cam;

she claimed he then attacked her.[172] Two other women, "Eleanor Lewes and Elenor Bedford, prisoners and chamber fellows w[ith] the said Mrs Newberrye, say and affirm that M[aster] Bywater gave the said Mrs Newberry Three or Four blows, and that he gave her the first before she ran at him with the sheeres."[173] Newborough or Newberry reached for a pair of scissors to defend herself against Bywater—she "ran at thim with the sheeres"—before stealing his keys and barricading herself along with several other women into one of the palace's chambers.[174] There they remained, refusing to appear in the court room on July 29, instead having "taken the keyes into their owne custodie and . . . locked them selves upp" within their chambers in the old palace, "until the Shreifes officers have ben reddie to breake open their chamberes."[175]

The revolt lasted a few days. By August 1 the city and Bridewell's previous governors had regained full control of the prison; by October 16 the undertakers were officially relieved of their commission.[176] Afterward, Newborough remained a prisoner, though she declared (or perhaps feigned) her repentance along with several other women who had partaken in the riot and was pardoned on January 10, 1603. The record in the governors' court book does not seem to be entirely convinced by Newborough's reformation. The minutes skeptically note that "in outward shewe [Newborough] . . . seemed to have the more repentinge and meltinge hart as partlie by her teares appeared."[177] The court's euphemistic entries attributed her earlier rebellion within the prison to the "over muche libertie and superfluous dyett" afforded by Stanley's corrupt undertakers.[178] Such comments imply that the governors let Newborough go despite realizing how little effect their correction had really had. Perhaps this was in recognition of the mistreatment she had faced down, or due to external pressure based on the attention the events had garnered; "William Egerton a reverend preacher of God's word" had come to Bridewell specifically to minister to Newborough, having heard of her plight.[179] Newborough's story was being told and retold in London, balladed and sung in the streets as Gustav Ungerer has noted, for example in one lyric, still surviving from 1609, called "Moll Newberry her Repentance."[180]

Echoing the scribe's comment that Newborough's misbehavior stemmed from too much liberty within the prison, in *Measure for Measure* Claudio claims that the harsh crackdown of Angelo's "restraint" has been brought on "From too much liberty, (my *Lucio*) Liberty."[181] Everywhere else in the play, liberty means freedom. Claudio's primary meaning in this instance may be that for too long the citizens of fictional Vienna have enjoyed their relative freedom, such that a crackdown, or the perception of one, was inevitable. Or perhaps he means that

Angelo is allowing himself too much personal freedom, even if Angelo's inclinations run to such puritanical discipline. Another part of the joke, however tiny, is that all these freedoms (which are really, in practice, restraints) are spaces. Practically or legally, the "liberty" Angelo abuses is his liberty proper—his jurisdiction. In the same way, the "liberty" Newborough ironically found within the prison was twofold: the corruption of her keepers, and her own spatial resistance. By locking themselves inside one room, refusing to appear in the courtroom, Newborough and her friends (as)seized her own brief authority. The palace turned licentious prison could still be architecturally rerouted, when Mary Newborough and her peers barricaded themselves further inside the prison to protest that same institution's mistreatment. Moreover, they ultimately succeeded. The women went free, eventually, even though no one seems to have believed that they had truly been reformed; and the corrupt administrators were dismissed and reprimanded, officially at least, if not in earnest. Could the ironic fictions of authority ever have been so fully exposed? Bridewell was a palace turned into a prison turned into a brothel finally turned back into a prison in protest by the very women it was meant to police.

And yet there may also have been another layer to the play's topical commentary in 1604. In the wake of the brothel scandal and the battle between Stanley and Newborough, in the fall of 1602—indeed, just thirteen days after the undertakers were dismissed on October 16, and just three folio pages later in Bridewell's court books—Shakespeare's former companymate and fellow actor Christopher Beeson was accused of rape in Bridewell's court, on October 27.[182] A woman named Margaret White claimed that Beeston "forcibilie" had "the use of her bodie."[183] As White attested: "one xpofer Beeston a plaier at one winters house in Star alley without Bishoppesgaate hade the use of her bodie but as she saithe hee did it forcibilie for said hee I have lyen with a hundred wenches in my tyme."[184] White describes Beeston's presumptiveness, claiming he told her that "I have lyen with a hundred wenches in my tyme."[185] Specifically she claims "the use of her bodie" was taken against her will, "forciblie."[186] On November 5, "Christopher Beeston a plaier" appeared in court at Bridewell to plead that he "utterlie denieth" the claim; eight days later he appeared to face White directly, accompanied this time by his rowdy friends.[187] Shakespeare could have been among those present in Bridewell's courtroom that day, but he likely would have heard about it regardless. Beeston had been a member of the Lord Chamberlain's Men, though around this time he transitioned to working with the Queen Anne's Men primarily, yet he was certainly closely associated enough that an event involving Beeston and a group of players would have been known

to Shakespeare.[188] According to the court books, Beeston and "his conferderats plaiers did verie vehementlie demeane them selves to certain governors and much abused the place":

> And forasmuch as the said xpofer Beeston is by one Margarett white a prisoner of this house, accused to have committed w[ith] her the abhominable synne of Addulterye in most filthie and brutishe manner in one Winters house in an alley w[ith]out Bishoppes gate on midsomer eve last. Foor wh[ich] hee was convented before certen of the governors of this house, and hee being examined utterlie denieth the facte notwthstandinge shee justifieth it to his face. At wh[ich] tyme also the said Beeston and others his confederats plaiers did verie vehementlie demeane themselves to certen governors [and] much abused the place, and yet upon some reports made knowen to this courte greatelie suspected to have committed the fact. And because at this courte also some in the said Beestons behalf hathe contrarie to all good order taken excepcyons against some of the governors of this house. It is ordered by a generall consent that such a cause shalbe in law proceeded against him as is and shalbe thought fit for so greate a cryme.[189]

Despite or perhaps egged on by the players' unruly protests, the court "greatelie suspected" Beeston to have committed the crime. In fact, the "excepcyons" taken against the governors are recorded as contributing to the court's decision to proceed against Beeston "for so greate a cryme," although the crime in this second entry is recorded as adultery.[190] No punishment or further proceedings were recorded, however. Margaret White was already imprisoned at Bridewell for being pregnant out of wedlock (Henry Moore, she said, was the father) when she made her accusation against Beeston, but despite his insolence, and despite that no one seems to have believed his denial, the proceedings had only made matters worse for her. In this second appearance they are both accused of adultery, not he of forcible rape; yet only she continued to suffer Bridewell's punishment. "As for you," Beeston rather than Angelo might as well have said to Margaret White, "Say what you can; my false, ore-weighs your true."[191]

Even if the "confederate plaiers" felt that Beeston was wrongly accused, in *Measure for Measure* the critique falls more upon the machinations of the corrupt institution in which both parties are caught up.[192] *Measure for Measure*'s Juliet, whose unwedded pregnancy is "writ" (a legal as well as graphic metaphor) "With Character too grosse" to hide, would be the first way to detect

White's presence, although her "most mutuall" relation with Claudio would not be White-contra-Beeston but rather White and the father of her child, Henry Moore.[193] In fact the play goes out of its way to retroactively confirm Juliet's consent: "So then it seems your most offencefull act / Was mutually committed," the Duke-as-Friar asks, to which Juliet responds in a word: "Mutually."[194] But the punishment, which was not shared mutually at Bridewell—where she and not he was punished—is ironized and reversed: "Then was your sin of heavier kind then his," is the Duke's sexist response to Juliet; although Claudio is to be put to death, not Juliet.[195] Thus begins an unusual transference of the historical experiences of the prison—a prison such as Bridewell, experiences such as those undoubtedly felt by Margaret White—not into Juliet's language but into Claudio's: "I will encounter darknesse as a bride," he announces in his prison cell.[196] Claudio imagines in death what White must have felt in life, sleeping in Bridewell on a stone floor: "To lie in cold obstruction, and to rot."[197] These are the materials from which he spins his meditation on the soul's experience after life, often the most admired lines in the play:

> or to recide
> In thrilling Region of thicke-ribbed Ice,
> To be imprison'd in the viewlesse windes,
> And blowne with restless violence round about
> The pendent world.[198]

The commonplace, penitential metaphor upon which Claudio is dilating—death as a prison-house—might be amplified not only by Shakespeare's imagination but by the "cold obstruction" of the prison next door, especially in the presence of that prison itself.[199]

These are the sorts of transferences that make *Measure for Measure* Shakespeare's "Bridewell play," it seems to me.[200] Not only because the story of Stanley or the experiences and plights of Mary Newborough or Maragret White are lifted or replicated anywhere in the play, but rather because such common experiences are transfused everywhere, dispersed between characters including Juliet and Claudio, Angelo and Isabella. *Measure for Measure* is Shakespeare's Bridewell play because physical experiences ground the play's most forceful, metaphorical language, in addition to the plots or plats that seem to be alluded to. "Sir, make me not your storie," Isabella herself says to Lucio.[201] And yet the experiences of individuals such as Mary Newborough and Margaret White seem to suffuse the play's silences, perhaps even Isabella's final silence. By speaking spatially and

dramatically, rather than in words, this theatrical moment at the conclusion of *Measure for Measure* uses the most basic material of both the carceral and the theatrical institution in a doubly subversive way. Language, especially written language, and especially the written language of historical court records such as those concerning the punishment of Margaret White or Mary Newborough in the court books of Bridewell, was a form of power. So too were the actions and inflections of the body, upon which the whipping posts or the confined spaces of Bridewell worked, but through which the actions of the stage could also inflect their ambivalent counter-work, supplementing the linguistic and documentary order and providing Isabella with a means to register her protest present and yet almost in absentia, in much the same motion Katherine of Aragon had made in *Henry VIII*. Despite being given seemingly no choice, "she withholds the *verbal* assent," Knoppers points out.[202]

Shakespeare seems to have used such cruxes to allow audiences to feel a political critique without committing or being able to commit to such a statement in language. Shakespeare was "enthralled by the way staging could reinterpret a reference" or a moment in his work, Tiffany Stern writes, and so in Isabella's final silence perhaps we must imagine how the stage itself could reinterpret nonreference—that is, Isabella's sheer refusal of reference.[203] As Stern and Simon Palfrey argue, the "spaces around or between" Isabella's final moments are given added "experiential pressure and urgency" by the absence of language.[204] If those spaces were Blackfriars and Bridewell, as they seem to have been in 1621, Isabella's supplications and silences would have been much more sharply political, conjuring the presence of real women both highborn and low, such as Mary Newborough and Elizabeth Cam or Katherine of Aragon, whose resistances did indeed take the form of refusal, of blocked closure—for example in their refusal to appear in the courtroom rather than the chamber they had taken control of. Especially at Blackfriars, Isabella would have seemed like another Katherine of Aragon, whose historical, famous, and oft-imagined resistance Shakespeare had indeed depicted as silence in *Henry VIII*, in that subtle moment lifted from the chronicles when Katherine refused to declare herself "Here" in the way of legal documentation, yet showed herself loyal in exactly the way she wanted to be and in the way she believed to be most politically persuasive. If Isabella storms off in the opposite direction from the Duke, for example—as Katherine did in *All Is True*—or if she takes her place by his side, silently perhaps, out of shock, we have two entirely opposed but perfectly historical possibilities to imbue with our own political imaginations. Even the prepositions become pressurized: "It is 'in' just such decision-making spaces that we . . . finally leave Isabella," Stern and Palfrey

write, asking: "Where is her mind . . . does she remain locked inside herself . . . ?" But by recreating how Shakespeare and Holinshed's Katherine of Aragon once finessed the court and courtroom, or how Margaret White took her own day in Bridewell's court as an opportunity to remind the court of its failure to hold Christopher Beeston responsible, or how Mary Newborough's revolt staked out its own liberty deeper within her prison, we gain new reasons to interpret Isabella's final absence, either on the page or the stage, as an open opportunity, an act of refusal rather than a silencing.

Conclusion

Given the scarcity of surviving documents written from the perspective of those set to labor at Bridewell, this chapter has sought alternative methods to build upon earlier historicist accounts that have already mined literary and dramatic texts for their critical representations of life within the house of correction. Returning to Bridewell's court books and muniments book, its letters patent and later legal analyses, I have sought to highlight practical aspects of the house of correction's authority that have not been fully realized, including the idiosyncrasies of its jurisdiction, as well as its spatial and architectural strategies. In keeping with the precepts of contemporary carceral studies, but also with the lived reality of early modern London, this chapter has sought to restore the house of correction and its stories to their central position within the social, intellectual, and cultural life of the commonwealth, alongside and even physically attached to the complex that housed Shakespeare's stage. Unexpectedly perhaps, that stage became a means of exploring what Isobel Armstrong terms a "radical aesthetic," in the sense that the aesthetic experiences and effects achieved in the Blackfriars theater not only included linguistic representations, but also dramaturgical resonances constituted out of spatial continuity with shared experiences.[205] The site-specific proximity of the prison next-door served both a dramatic and metaphorical purpose, heightening the political atmosphere of these plays and sharpening their subversive possibilities. Those possibilities included something dangerously close to regret expressed in *Henry VIII*, especially in scenes where Katherine of Aragon finds herself spinning and sewing in confinement in her own Bridewell Palace as though she were one among the criminalized women laboring in its future workrooms. Those possibilities included a stronger sense of Isabella's resistance at the conclusion of *Measure for Measure,* not despite her silence but within it, given the clever tactics used

by Mary Newborough and her collaborators to thwart the house of correction's abuses by barricading themselves deeper inside the prison, thus changing the political winds outside it.

Those possibilities also included the play's open critique of the hypocrisies of the house of correction's central framework, carceral humanism, or "Correction, and Instruction" as it is termed in *Measure for Measure*.[206] "Go mend, go mend," the Duke disguised as the friar tells Pompey as he is hauled in by the constable, initiating a passage of wordplay built around the rhetoric of correction.[207] "Take him to prison Officer," he commands: "Correction, and Instruction must both worke / Ere this rude beast will profit."[208] Rather than the prisoner set to labor, it is correction and instruction that must work upon him, if anyone is to profit. But as audiences and readers know, nothing like correction nor instruction is genuinely functioning in the prison depicted in *Measure for Measure*—comically so. The constable quickly interrupts Escalus, noting that Pompey must be brought "before the Deputy" specifically, who "cannot abide a Whore-master," for "if he be a Whore-monger," his punishments will be exacerbated; the pronouns comedically elide who is the "whore-monger" or master in the situation, the offender or the deputy Angelo—much like Stanley, the reformed robber turned corrupted do-gooder.[209] This misuse of discretion or abuse of power prompts even the Duke to comment on the faults evinced by officer and offender alike: "That we were all, as some would seeme to bee / From our faults, as faults from seeming free."[210] Most modern editors correct these lines to read: "That we were all, as some would seeme to bee / *Free* from our faults, as faults from seeming free" (emphasis added).[211] "Sense, meter, and syntactical balance" point to this emendation, the editors of *The New Oxford Shakespeare* note.[212] Yet a rhetorical feature is lost when the lines are corrected by editors in advance. To read, hear, or understand the lines, anyone might participate in a culture of correction, supplying a missing term or making an emendation, and thus thinking even more actively rather than passively about the state of the lines, the play, and the society it depicts, including the ruses of carceral humanism. *Measure for Measure*'s linguistic and spatial imaginary is part of the world it participates in and yet satirizes, making use of stories sourced from the prison nearby and the physical sense of a "*Cities Institutions*," but also involving the humanist, correctional imaginary that dramatists and their critics both claimed and complained was becoming a common and perhaps radically shared kind of "authority" in early modern London.[213] Remember John Greene's objections in his *Refutation of the Apology for Actors*: "God onley gave authority of publique instruction and correction but to two sorts

of men, to his Ecclesiastical Ministers, and temporal Magistrates . . . hee never instituted a third authority of Players."[214] It appeared to Greene's great consternation that the early modern theater had become a space not where culture could be subordinated to correction and reforming manners as another means of carceral humanism, but rather one where an ambivalent, shared authority was playing those norms, habits, and social institutions from a different, more participatory, and more critical perspective: "Players assume an unlawfull office to themselves of instruction and correction."[215]

CHAPTER 4

"If the whole Countrey were but such a Bridewell"

The Virginia Plantation, *The Tempest*, and *The Mock-Tempest*

Correction and Plantation

On November 13, 1622, more than three hundred investors in the Virginia Company gathered in London at St. Michael's church, Cornhill, to hear a sermon preached by John Donne.[1] Donne was no stranger to the Virginia Company. Earlier that year he had been named an honorary member and shortly thereafter appointed to the corporation's council of directors.[2] His sermon that day in November aimed to reassure investors of the spiritual and economic justifications of their venture, despite its early difficulties. Donne's words were met with a warm reception, it would appear, at least from those leaders of the Company at whose "Commandement" the text was quickly ushered into print.[3] Today the sermon remains one of Donne's most famous, considered an exemplary primary document in the history of English colonialism. For these reasons, one of the text's most specific metaphors should be all the more startling. The plantation of Virginia, Donne told the parishioners, "shall redeem many a wretch from the Jawes of death, from the hands of the Executioner, upon whom, perchaunce a small fault, or perchance a first fault, or perhaunce a fault heartily and sincerely repented, perchance no fault, but malice, had otherwise cast a present, and ignominious death. It shall sweep your streets, and wash your dores, from idle persons, and the children of idle persons, and imploy them: and truly, if the whole Countrey were but such a Bridewell, to force idle persons to work, it had

a good use."[4] Donne's speculative metaphor not only asks his audience and later readers to imagine "the whole Countrey" of Virginia as one vast "Bridewell, to force idle persons to work," but at the same time to envision the effects such a process of transplantation might have at home in the streets of London. "As if by some pragmatic sleight of hand, the 'idle persons' Donne would send to the New World 'shall sweep your streets, and wash your dores' if you happen to be a landowner in London," Thomas Festa notes: "their *absence* will clean up the streets, and their labor in the New World will therefore transform the capital as if they entered into service and worked back at home."[5]

The connections Donne was drawing might seem startling today, but there was arguably nothing out of the ordinary about his sentences. Donne's metaphor recalls the central commonplace of correction: *Thieves should be put to work, not put to death*—which, as "Johannes Bacon" noted in his 1551 copy of Robinson's translation, was "Theffecte of ye first book" of More's *Utopia*, "agaynst the putting of theves to dethe," when "rather they were put to work."[6] From the beginning, there had been a metaphysical dimension to this argument, which invoked a Christlike resurrection into a new life or second life, echoed by the syntactical figure of *correctio* (or metanoia) whose patterns these sentences and sententiae retraced: in Donne's case, not a "small fault" but a "first fault," not a "first fault" but "a fault heartily and sincerely repented," finally "no fault" at all "but malice."[7] Under correction, the burden of an idle vagrant could be subtracted from London and put to work settling Virginia, adding exponential benefits to the commonwealth. Thieves put to work instead of death would "become as two men added to the Commonwealth, and not as one taken away from it," William Petty would write in 1662.[8]

Neither was there anything out of the ordinary about linking the project of England's houses of correction to its colonial plantations. Donne's sermon was part of a well-organized propaganda campaign, which Rebecca Goetz calls a "media blitz," and this same imagery echoes throughout the rest of the Virginia Company's tracts, broadsides, books, homilies, and internal documents, all of which used the house of correction's hallmark justifications and the political rhetoric of correction to support the Plantation's program of rounding up London's vagrants for transportation.[9] Indeed, by the time Donne joined the Company or delivered his sermon, Bridewell had already been in business with the Virginia plantation for years, providing convicts for indenture as early as 1607 and beginning in earnest in 1618.[10] Donne was not unique or alone in continuing to push the expansive promises of correctional institutions—although the rest of the Company's documents and sermons tended to tiptoe more carefully

around the association. The preacher Patrick Copland, for example, followed the same Virginia Company talking points in the same year as Donne, but as euphemistically as possible: just as "the maintaining of your Hospitals, and other publike works" did spiritual credit to London's magistrates, so too you may "provide well for your people by sending them over thither."[11]

That was not Donne's style. Rather than gesturing vaguely "over thither," Donne's direct comparison must have made the congregation sit up in their pews. No one in Donne's audience, or reading his sermon in print soon thereafter, could have missed that rhetorical flash, or been able to unsee the somewhat paradoxical image it conjured: the whole of the seemingly free expanse of Virginia as one vast house of correction. But neither could anyone in Donne's audience have considered Bridewell an unambiguously positive comparison for their new colony. By the time Donne made his comparison in 1622, Bridewell had been in continuous operation for almost seventy-five years, but it had weathered scandal after scandal like those discussed in the previous chapter; in the process, Bridewell had gained greater and greater prominence as one of London's most notorious and notoriously corrupted prisons. The year prior, in 1621, Parliament had declined yet again to ratify Bridewell's royal charter, reopening the debate about the foundation of the institution's legal legitimacy that had been ongoing since the 1550s.[12] Rarely profitable, riven by corruption scandals, plagued by exactly the kind of recidivism it claimed to reform, the actual Bridewell had by the first quarter of the seventeenth century become London's emblem of a long-struggling and overreaching political project—not an obvious image of divine providence or destined success. Citing those parliamentary debates from 1621, J. A. Sharpe concludes that there was even "a widespread awareness" that Bridewell's model was "as likely to create criminals as it is cure them."[13]And yet, though London's actual house of correction had failed again and again to live up to its promise that work would be a moral education and that individual reform and social improvement would naturally follow, the persuasive potential of those ideas had not been exhausted.

Even if all Donne had intended to do was to draw attention with a flashy comparison, his metaphor caught hold of the uncomfortable contradictions within the political rhetoric he was appropriating. Extensive historical debates persist to this day about many of the questions raised here. To what extent was the Virginia colony conceived as a penal colony? How soon did penal transportation take hold as a dominant solution for colonial "Plantation"? What does their cooperation with the process of penal transportation tell us about the prison reform movements of the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries? As

Donne's audience in 1622, the Company members were asked to see and decide for themselves what they were doing, because they were shown what it looked like: another bridewell. A different institution, justified with strikingly similar language and ideas. No one hearing or reading that sentence in 1622 could have failed to ask themselves whether the house of correction and the Virginia colony, both of which deployed so many of the same arguments and invoked the same promises of correction, would indeed prove similarly fated.

Time in *The Tempest*

This chapter examines the connections forged between correctional and colonial discourse in England at the beginning of the seventeenth century while returning to a cultural text that has figured prominently in debates about those discourses for decades if not centuries: Shakespeare's *The Tempest*. In so doing, this chapter seeks to establish *The Tempest*'s satire of the rhetoric of correction as an unrealized link between two of the major critical commonplaces that have so often shaped discussions of this play. The first of these commonplaces has to do with timing. *The Tempest* is nearly unique among Shakespearean plays for its insistence on the classical unity of time.[14] The play's action begins famously in medias res, in the storm, or what the Boatswain calls "the mischance of the houre."[15] *The Tempest* then continues in so-called real time, commencing between two and three in the afternoon: "What is the time o'th'day?" Prospero asks in the second scene.[16] "Past the mid season," Ariel responds.[17] "At least two Glasses" or hourglasses, Prospero concurs, adding that "the time 'twixt six & now / Must by us both be spent most preciously."[18] Later, in the final scene, the characters repeatedly reference their stay on shore as three hours long. It has been "three howres since" the travelers "Were wrackt upon this shore," Alonzo reminds everyone.[19] "Your eld'st acquaintence cannot be three houres," he tells the new lovers, while the ship is revealed to have been repaired by Ariel with magical speed, despite being a complete wreckage "but three glasses" earlier.[20] "Time / Goes upright with his carriage," Prospero claims, checking the clock once more at the opening of the final act: "how's the day?"[21] "On the sixt hower," Ariel replies.[22] By the close, *The Tempest*'s characters have gone out of their way to raise the question of when the play's action began (after 2:00 p.m.), how long it has lasted (roughly three hours), and when it will end (near 6:00 p.m.).

But the play's timing is just as much supernatural as natural. *The Tempest* takes place a dozen years after its backstory began, even down to the minute,

Prospero intimates: "Twelve yere since (*Miranda*) twelve yere since," he repeats in the second scene.[23] "The howr's now come, / The very minute bids thee ope thine eare," Prospero announces, asking Miranda to peer with him into the "dark-backward and Abisme of Time."[24] As the action progresses, audiences and readers realize that the scenes seem to be structured, perhaps even down "to the very minute," as a series of uncanny reenactments and reversals of the backstory from twelve years ago.[25] Another ambitious younger sibling plots to usurp his brother's crown, but this time, at the last moment, is thwarted; Prospero again falls so deeply entranced with his own magic that he nearly misses a plot against his life, but this time, at the last minute, he catches himself. "The whole play is the spectacle of [Prospero's] timing," Stephen Greenblatt has observed, though the tension derives as much from Prospero's nearly losing track of time as from his mastery of it.[26] This overarching theme may even be signaled in the play's title. *The Tempest* unfolds the story of both its Latin etymologies: *tempestās*, a storm, as well as *tempus*: a time, an interval, an opportunity.[27]

Yet no matter how often this curious formal feature of the play is noticed, it is just as often set aside, as though immaterial to the larger historical and political discourses of colonialism and race that have motivated discussion of *The Tempest* in the last several decades, if not centuries. This is the second critical commonplace of interest to my argument. At least since Malone in 1808, scholars have argued that contemporary documents from the Virginia Company helped inspire *The Tempest*, and have used those documents to interpret the play's own concerns with colonization, going so far as to suggest ways the text can be seen as a "prophecy" of the discourses of settler colonialism.[28] This reading, which once seemed revisionist, now predominates, thanks to contributions from Greenblatt, Paul Brown, Kim Hall, Patricia Akhimie, and many others.[29] Yet the precise extent or the importance of the play's engagement with Virginia Company documents from the years between 1607 and 1610 has remained a question for scholars, and has left some, including Meredith Skura and David Kastan, unconvinced.[30] "If the play has a relation to the New World activity, it is not writ deep into its texture," Kastan has argued.[31] "We have no *external* evidence that seventeenth-century audiences thought the play referred to the New World," Skura noted in 1989, pushing back on new historicist readings.[32]

This chapter argues that time itself is one of the deep structural ways in which colonial but also correctional discourse has shaped the play. I will also point to Restoration stagings from the 1670s as external evidence that seventeenth-century audiences found something explicit in Shakespeare's elusive colonial references. I will argue that the play's timing is inseparable from

its use of the rhetoric of English plantation, as well as the related discourses of early modern penal labor. My point is perhaps best illustrated by *The Tempest*'s insistence on associating its own duration, as an aesthetic event, with the conditions of Ariel's servitude. At the outset, when Prospero refers to his plans for Ariel's time "twixt six & now" or until the day is out, his "industrious servant" objects.[33] "Is there more toyle?" Ariel asks, chiding Prospero for forgetting that this was the day Ariel had been promised his "Libertie," albeit a year early, for good behavior: "thou did promise / To bate me a full yeere."[34] "Before the time be out?" Prospero replies.[35] In the ensuing argument, Prospero prompts Ariel to remember his prior suffering under Sycorax: "Imprison'd, thou didst painefully remain / A dozen yeeres."[36] He then threatens to repeat the earlier punishment, confining Ariel again "till / Thou hast howl'd away twelve winters."[37] Ultimately, the magus agrees to release Ariel from their agreement on the following day, rather than at the end of the present, onstage one. "Doe so: and after two dayes / I will discharge thee," Prospero offers, later reiterating himself: "Spirit, fine spirit, Ile free thee / Within two dayes for this."[38] Ariel is elated. If all goes well, and if Prospero keeps his word (this time), Ariel will go free, either three hundred sixty-four days early, or one day late, relative to the terms of either their first agreement or their more recent one. Although it would be simpler and perhaps more effective for the play to flag its own hours as the final ones of Ariel's servitude, instead *The Tempest* makes a show of renegotiating the agreement onstage, before settling finally on an interval that depicts the last hours of Ariel's second-to-last day.

The confusion and negotiation are purposeful, I argue. Audiences and readers are made to see and feel that time in the play will be anything but clear cut, even while being reminded constantly that their entertainment is synced, in a unified manner, with Prospero's shifting demands on Ariel's labor. At the beginning of the final act, when the day of the play is "On the sixt hower," Ariel grumbles to Prospero, "at which time, my Lord, / You said our worke should cease" (5.1.4–5). In such moments, and especially in the play's insistent depiction of different kinds of temporality, several of which I will examine in this chapter—including carceral duration, love, and lyric time—*The Tempest* puts time itself into play, as a formal but also political device. The effect introduces primal tensions. We watch to find out not only whether Ariel will go free but when. We keep a wary eye on Prospero, wondering what kind of master and what kind of person he is or will prove to be. The effect also deepens our sense of each character's particular and changing experience, and in so doing, shapes

a critique of the specific promises about time in the so-called new world already being made by colonial projectors, their propaganda pamphlets, and their contracted indentures.

This chapter therefore asks that we broaden accepted interpretive frameworks for *The Tempest* in two ways. First, I aim to include not only colonial matters but the adjacent discourses of penal labor and penal transportation. I build upon decades of scholarship dedicated to establishing *The Tempest* as a "profoundly" and "specifically Virginian" text, as John Gillies puts it, with a "Virginian subtext" that would easily have been "legible to contemporary audiences."[39] To be a profoundly and specifically "Virginian" story meant that this narrative was also deeply and indelibly one emanating from the docks of Bridewell prison, I argue, drawing on recent work in transatlantic and social history.[40] No story about the possibilities of colonization at the outset of the seventeenth century could have been told without considering the new, confused, and confusing forms of correctional penal labor, penal transportation, and involuntarily bonded labor that were already being used to depopulate London's prisons and propagate the new plantations. Such connections would have been legible from the play's first recorded performances at court in 1611 and 1613, and would have been even more clear in the physical shadow of Bridewell, on the Blackfriars stage next door, for which Andrew Gurr argues *The Tempest* was "unquestionably" written.[41]

Connections between the timescapes of colonial labor abroad and correctional labor at home were also made explicit by some of *The Tempest*'s most invested interpreters in the seventeenth century: the playwrights, actors, and composers who rewrote and restaged *The Tempest* after the Restoration. This is the second way in which I aim to expand our frame for the play; by consulting, even in a limited capacity, Restoration responses that are often left out. In 1667 (first printed in 1670), John Dryden and John Davenant revised and revived *The Tempest* with great success, in a version that retained some 31 percent of Shakespeare's lines, according to George Guffy's count.[42] In 1674, the music of the Dryden-Davenant *Tempest* was increased to operatic proportions by Thomas Shadwell and his collaborators, becoming perhaps "the most popular play of the Restoration period."[43] In 1674–75, this tradition culminated with Thomas Duffet's musical *The Mock-Tempest*, which parodied the earlier plays by setting the romance not on a fictive island akin to Virginia but in Bridewell Prison, with Prospero recast not as the master of his magical colony but as the corrupt governor of his own house of correction. Duffet's satire, called rather a "travesty" by at

least one critic, was performed with a cast of "*Wenches,* Bridewell-*Keepers, Spirits, Devils, Masquers, and Prisners*" and the scene "in LONDON."[44] Although Duffet's *Mock-Tempest* primarily travestied the operatic version of Dryden and Davenant's *Tempest*, in doing so *The Mock-Tempest* also tilted Dryden and Davenant's version back toward some of the original play's concerns. What emerges is not only evidence for the play's deep connection to both colonial and correctional discourse, but a comment on time itself as a medium within those institutional practices. I will argue in the final section of this chapter that *The Mock-Tempest* reactivates *The Tempest*'s temporality, especially its means of depicting worktime, as key features, both for Shakespeare's implicit critique of what were then still newfangled practices, and for the Restoration's explicit satire of what were by then established regimes.

Ultimately, my reading positions *The Tempest* as a response to an aesthetic problem that endures across historical periods—renaissance, Restoration, or otherwise. This is the formal problem of work, and especially in this case hard labor. "Perpetual, repetitive, habitual," as Elaine Scarry describes work in a seminal essay, "there is no formal convention in any genre of literature that would make it either possible or desirable to portray it in all its constancy and repetitiveness."[45] Yet the circumstances of time, I argue, set off by the actions of the stage, create Shakespeare's formal conventions for playing the politics of work. It is no secret that throughout *The Tempest* the characters are laboring: Ariel creating effects and charms, Caliban and Ferdinand doing the physical drudgery, Prospero as overseer, and Shakespeare & Co., or the present actors, working before us to put on the show. The play also uses its time, both real and unreal, natural and supernatural, to amplify the feel of these activities. First, the circumstantial use of so-called real time maintains *The Tempest*'s duration as a synecdoche for the unseen labors of the entire day, or the twelve years of such days, which would be impossible to stage or represent, practically speaking, but which are not entirely impossible to suggest. Second, the play deploys different tempos of activity on the stage to masterful artistic and emotional effect. Ariel flits and flames about, while the noblemen are frozen or "Spell-stopt"; Caliban trudges through his log dragging, while Ferdinand, in love, rhapsodizes through the same tasks.[46] As a masque of differing tempos, *The Tempest* instills in its audiences and readers a powerful sense of the differing movement of time under a rubric of different affects, classes, hardening racialized identities, and shifting experiences, including confinement, forced labor, and even stage labor. Exposing time as a medium is one of the formal ways the play binds a political statement "deep into its texture."[47]

Idleness and the Rhetoric of Correction at the Origins of English Penal Transportation

In the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, developments in penal labor, penal transportation, and indentured servitude were contributing to changes in the way English people at all levels of society thought about the relationships between time, work, and punishment. In England's burgeoning houses of correction, hundreds of which had been established between the 1550s and 1610s, the use of labor as punishment, with tasks adjusted to crimes and ideas of criminality, was one innovation.[48] But so was duration. The number of days or weeks under confinement were adjusted in relation to the offense or the offender.[49] Although every moment in a dungeon, gaol, or debtor's prison was undoubtedly physically punishing and construed as penitential, confinement was still often conceived of as detention, pending the actual punishment—the repayment, execution, whipping, or other action that would end inaction. In the houses of correction and later workhouses, however, time at certain activities, such as beating hemp, pushing the mill, or even practicing trades such as clothmaking, usually for a few days or weeks, was meant to be thought of as punishment and reeducation in itself.[50] Put to work, not put to death, better for the individual and good for the commonwealth: These were the maxims of correctional labor, for "there cummeth more profit of theire laboure, than of theire deathe," as More's *Utopia* had memorably phrased it in Robinson's 1551 translation.[51]

In the same years, English merchants, investors, and their political collaborators were setting their sights on establishing colonies abroad, not only in Ireland but across the Atlantic. Although modern historians have tended until recently to treat these topics separately, early modern Englishmen envisioned their early colonial schemes as being closely related to their early carceral projects, from at least the 1580s onward.[52] Both carceral work discipline and penal transportation were said to address the same problems; both began at London's Bridewell; both deployed the argument for "correction" or for the rehabilitative possibilities of hard labor as a crucial justification; and both encouraged changes in the temporal conditions of work as well. Richard Hakluyt's well-known 1584 "Discourse of Western Planting," for example, offered colonization as an answer for the same social and demographic issues that houses of correction were intended to address: "this enterprize will be for the manifolde imployment of nombers of idle men."[53] The *Discourse* echoed *Utopia* in lamenting that "all the prisons of the lande are daily pestred and stuffed full of them, where either they pitifully pine awaye, or else at lengthe are miserably hanged,

even XX at a clappe out of some one jaile."[54] Instead Hakluyt enthusiastically imagined how England's petty criminals and unemployed might be put to use "for certen yeres" in "the westerne partes."[55]

In 1597, penal transportation of the sort Hakluyt advocated entered English law explicitly as an extension for England's burgeoning network of houses of correction. The same statute that mandated the continued construction of correctional institutions at home (39 Eliz.c.3–5) included a provision that allowed for any "Idle" "Rogues" committed to the "Howse of Correccion" to be alternatively "conveied unto such partes beyond the Seas as shalbe at any time hereafter for that purpose assigned by the Privie Counsell."[56] Correction and transportation shared their practical origins at Bridewell, as well, since the prison was made responsible for rounding up the earliest convicts and poor children who were transported into servitude. The earliest record I can find of anyone transported to Virginia from Bridewell dates to October 2, 1607, when a runaway apprentice named "William Person" was with the consent of his master "sent to Virginia."[57] More extensive documentary evidence for such transports began in earnest in 1618, when the city and the prison struck a deal with the Company to provide a hundred individuals per year for shipment overseas, though the Virginia Company's own propaganda claimed that forcibly impressed indentured servants were among the ranks from as early as the colony's inception in 1605–7.[58] By December 1619, the Virginia Company was sending representatives to Bridewell to handpick fifty men at a time, or "to make choice of such as they thinke for the present fit to be sent."[59]

These developments at home and abroad promoted curious and double-edged ideas about the management of time. First, within both these wider histories, what Hakluyt and Elizabethan and Jacobean statutes called "idleness" was one *topos* whose complexities demand closer examination. Idleness, as a discourse with ancient roots among the seven deadly sins and as "Sodome's sin," had become a national obsession during the vagrancy crises of the prior centuries.[60] "The way how to reform wandering beggers, theeves and high-way robbers," claimed Stanley's tract, was to recognize "that Sodomes sin of idlenesse is the poverty and misery of this kingdome."[61] Houses of correction (or "houses of labor") and indentured service in the new world were both described as ways to root out idleness in English subjects.[62] "For all the statutes that hitherto can be devised, and the sharpe execution of the same in poonishinge idle and lazye persons," Hakluyt proclaimed, "for wante of sufficient occasion of honest employement," England alone "cannot deliver our commonwealthe from multitudes of loiterers and idle vagabondes."[63]

Working the supposedly empty or idle land of the Americas was imagined as the perfect, correctional occupation for England's unemployed or "idle" population. An economy of idleness management functioned between England's prisons and its new colonies, according to the 1609 pamphlet *Nova Britannia*: "Our land abounding with swarmes of idle persons, which having no meanes of labour to releeve their misery, doe likewise swarme in lewd and naughtie practises, so that if we seeke not some wayes for their foreine employment, we must provide shortly more prisons and corrections for their bad conditions."[64] The plan was already working, or so claimed another piece of propaganda, *Newes from Virginia*, a poem printed in 1610: "Those men that *Vagrants* liv'd with us, / have there deserved well: / Their Governour writes in their praise, / as divers Letters tel."[65] One order for transportation from 1622 offers a unique example, as its punishment appears to have been designed by James I for one of his courtiers. "Christopher Armestrong now remayninge prisoner in the Marchalsea" was to be transported to Virginia so that "he maie be reclaimed from idle and ill man[n]ers, and trayned up to labour, and an orderly course of life."[66] Work in Virginia was imagined to be correctional for an "idle" knave such as Armstrong, who was ordered not to return without "Certificat from thence of his reformacion."[67]

On the other hand, free or idle time was explicitly promoted and promised as a feature of life in the new world. Even while impressed indentured labor abroad was depicted as a correctional opportunity for England's idle poor, often the same sermons and tracts made promises about the relatively few hours such laborers would need to busy themselves with work. These promises were detailed, practical, and practicable, and they are most pronounced in *A true declaration of the estate of the Colonie* (1610), the one Virginia document beyond Strachey's *A true reportory* (1609) that seems to bear the most significant sense of collocation for the language of *The Tempest*.[68] "Neither let any man be discouraged, by the relation of their daily labour," this pamphlet announced.[69] Do not be discouraged "as though the sappe of [your] bodies should be spent for other mens profite," *A true declaration* insisted, for the conditions of labor were carefully monitored.[70] "The settled times of working" would require "no more pains then from sixe of clocke in the morning until ten, and from two of the clocke in the afternoon till foure."[71] This piece of Virginia propaganda offered a six-hour day, split between six and ten in the morning and two and four in the afternoon.

If this proved true, it would have been a drastic improvement over the temporal conditions of labor anywhere in England, let alone in the house of correction. The Statute of Artificers instituted in 1563 demanded that "Labourers

being hired for Wages by the Day or Week" must be at work "at or before five of the Clock in the Morning" and "not departe untill betwixt seven and eight of the Clocke at Night."[72] Agrarian laborers who might measure tasks in "dayworkes" ("4 large dayworkes for a good mower" . . . "4 indifferent dayworkes," etc.) would begin "before four of the clock in the morning" and work until two or three in the afternoon, resuming after a half-hour meal break until six thirty: "and after supper, hee shall either by the fire side mend shooes both for himselfe and their Family, or beat and knock Hemp or Flax, or picke and stamp Apples or Crabs, for Cider or Verdjuice, or else grind malt on the quernes, pick candle rushes, or doe some Husbandly office within doors till it be full eight a clock."[73] Such days would be something like sixteen hours long. According to Mark Hailwood's recent analysis, English workers in both urban and rural environments were accustomed to working hours that "peak[ed]" between 8:00 and 11:00 a.m., with a midday lull for meals between 11:00 a.m. and 2:00 p.m., another peak between 2:00 and 5:00 p.m., and a distinctively "long tail" of tasks stretching "deep into the evening."[74] Hailwood concludes that the demands of a "complex, commercialized economy, in a society obsessed with order and with a well-developed disciplinary infrastructure, meant that long hours of regular, clock-orientated, often closely policed work, were a fact of life" in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England.[75]

The notion promoted by the Virginia prospectors of a land that overflowed with such natural abundance that its husbandry might require only six hours of work in a day, rather than ten or twelve or more, must therefore have been highly attractive. A life where even indentured service took up only half the hours needed in England would have been a new one indeed, its possibilities expanding and blooming with empty hours in every day of the year. Perhaps what the new world seemed to offer most, to a wider class of English participants, was an expanded sense of temporal possibility. Questions of time and duration must therefore have been paramount to those who considered the prospect seriously. How long was the awful voyage? What would the hours be like once you got there? For how many years? How much land would a freed servant be given, and how many hours of the day would be dedicated to growing tobacco on it? Could you also raise your own staples in the time on the side, or would you rely on trade for subsistence? "Certainly Englishmen understood service, labor, apprenticeship, punishment, and unfreedom," Michael Guasco writes of this moment of transition, but indentured servitude of the kind used to propagate Virginia, "with its emphasis on long-distance transportation, multiyear contracts, unskilled labor," was much less familiar.[76] Promises concerning

the most practical points must therefore have been some of the most important ones made by colonial propaganda: the duration of contracts, the duration of the days, the hours in those days.

The hypocrisies of these promises were also precisely the kind of material London's playwrights and comedians leapt to exploit. Especially in the earliest, most precarious years, before the tobacco boom had reassured investors and the public alike of God's providence, the ridicule of London's stages was seen as a real threat to the project of Plantation. Strachey himself reported that daily prayers in Jamestown included curses for London's playwrights.[77] In a sermon preached before the Company in February 1609, and printed quickly thereafter in 1610, William Crashaw (father of the poet Richard) complained bitterly about the situation: "But why are the *Players* enemies to this Plantation, and doe abuse it?"[78] "I will tell you the causes," Crashaw avowed: "First, for that they are so multiplied here, that one cannot live by another, and they see that wee send of all trades to *Virginea,* but will send no *Players,* which if we would doe, they that remaine would gaine the more at home. Secondly . . . because we resolve to suffer no *Idle persons in Virginea,* which course if it were taken in *England,* they know they might turne to new occupations."[79] Crashaw implies that the likes of Jonson, Chapman, Marston, Shakespeare, and their fellows must simply have been jealous of London's other tradesmen, who would see their opportunities increase and their competition decline as the colonization and population of Virginia progressed. Or perhaps London's playwrights and actors, commonly derided as "*Idle persons*" and always at risk of being classed as vagrants or vagabonds, thereby liable to the same punishments, such as time in the house of correction, feared punishment like the rest of London's criminalized poor—or feared being forced to turn "to new occupations."[80] Then again, Crashaw suggests, perhaps the players simply felt insulted and left out, since the Projectors did not deem their company fit for Virginia.

The surviving play that Crashaw referred to was most likely Jonson, Chapman, and Marston's controversial *Eastward Ho!*, performed at Blackfriars and printed in 1605. It was ostensibly the play's offenses to James I's Scottish heritage that got Jonson and Chapman briefly jailed, although a good deal of fun was also had at the expense of the Virginia Colony and its threats of impressed transportation. A constable describes two characters as "a couple of Maisterlesse men" who ought to be carried "to Bridewell" and from there "shipt away."[81] Yet the tavern dwellers of *Eastward Ho!* also fantasize at length about their adventure to the new world: "Come boyes, *Virginia* longs till we share the rest of her Maidenhead," announces Captain Seagull.[82] "Why," Spendall replies, "is she inhabited

alreadye with any *English?*"[83] "A whole Countrie of English is there man," Captain Seagull answers, "bread of those that were left there in 79. They have married with the Indians, and make'hem bring forth as beautifull faces as any we have in England: and therefore the Indians are so in love with 'hem, that all the treasure they have, they lay at their feete."[84] The mysterious end of the Roanoke colony "in 79" had faded very little from London's imagination, it seems.[85] Captain Seagull's naive talk of intermarriage is also revealing. But most of all, the play stands out for poignantly ridiculing the idea of Virginia as a utopian land of equity and plenty. "Why man all their dripping Pans, and their Chamber pottes are pure Gold," Seagull tells his sloshed companions; "all the Prisoners they take are fetterd in Gold."[86] In Virginia, Seagull and his lowly friends will find true opportunity, he claims. "And then you shall live freely there, without Sargeants, or Courtiers, or Lawyers . . . for your meanes to advancement, there, it is simple . . . You may bee an Alderman there, and never be Scavinger, you may bee any other officer, and never be a Slave."[87] These may well have been laugh lines, and certainly in carousing they could be played that way, but the tone has an undercurrent of wistfulness as well. There had been real hope for the English people in the new world, not only as an idealized Eden where "Rubies & Diamonds" could be gathered like pebbles "by the Sea-shore," but as an actual route for the lowest classes to meaningfully improve their daily lives.[88] "What swarmes of people desired to be transported," exclaimed *A true declaration of the estate of the Colonie* in 1610, "what alacrity and cheerefulnesse in the Adventurers."[89] But despite their enthusiasm, Captain Seagull and his fictional gang of Planters never made it beyond the Thames. Instead they were wrecked in a storm.

Time in *The Tempest* and *The Mock-Tempest*: Three Tempos

Like the castaways of *Eastward Ho!* several years earlier, Shakespeare's shipwrecked characters poke fun at the ambitions of the Virginia project in their own terms, including the language of idleness. "Had I plantation of this Isle," begins Gonzalo's famous Commonwealth speech, "what would I do?"[90]

> I'th'Commonwealth I would (by contraries)
> Execute all things: For no kinde of Trafficke
> Would I admit: No name of Magistrate:
> Letters should not be knowne: Riches, poverty,
> And use of service, none: Contract, Succession,

Borne, Bound of Land, Tilth, Vineyard none:
No use of Mettall, Corne, or Wyne or Oile:
No occupation, all men idle, all.[91]

"Idle" is too often overlooked as a keyword for this speech. Gonzalo's set piece is often noted now in part because it was taken almost word for word from Montaigne's "Des Caniballes" or "Of the Caniballes" as translated by Florio in 1603, providing the most important piece of evidence that Shakespeare read Montaigne.[92] More salient than this borrowing, however, would have been the comical irony involved in imagining an entirely "idle" state. "Idle" was a derogatory term for vagrancy and poverty at this time, but also carried connotations related to nonreproductive or so-called fruitless sex; idleness was "Sodomes Sin" after all.[93] "No marrying 'mong his subjects?" Sebastian asks in response to Gonzalo's imaginary society; "None (man) all idle," Antonio responds.[94] Perhaps the audience was invited to consider the prospects for the population growth of such a commonwealth, and chuckle, or to wonder what besides "Hereditary Sloth" could possibly take hold.[95] *A true declaration* claimed London's wits were being disingenuous, however. "If any man shall accuse these reports of partiall falsehood," the tract warned, "supposing them to be but Utopian, and legendarie fables, because he cannot conceive, that plentie and famine, a temperate climate, and distempered bodies, felicities, and miseries can be reconciled together, let him now reade with judgement, but let him not judge before he hath read."[96]

The question of the hours—whether they were long or short, hard or easy—was one of the most pressing ways in which "felicities, and miseries" were "reconciled together" by reports from the new world.[97] This is partly what makes *The Tempest*'s meditation on the "the time o'th'day," on the temporalities of labor and rest, work and play "twixt six & now" such a clever and daring aspect of its commentary on English colonialism.[98] Like the second, afternoon work session promised by *A true declaration*, the play stretches from somewhere around three in the afternoon to somewhere around six; "on the sixt hower," as Ariel says, "You said our worke should cease."[99] Six works as one of Shakespeare's habitual numerological doublings here: Six hours was the promised day in Virginia, and six years was the usual term of service for a voluntary indentured servant in the new world (as well as the regular term of apprenticeship in England)—although, depending on the subject's age, their prior convictions, or their master's deceptions, the "custom of the country" in the Colonies could be found to extend anywhere from four to seven to an indeterminate number of years.[100] Six doubled literally rather than figuratively then represents the number of years on the "Cell" of the island,

or in Ariel's prison-tree, but would also be more like the number of hours in a daywork in England, or in England's houses of correction.[101] The three or four hours of *The Tempest*, ending around six, depict the ultimate hours of the penultimate day of Ariel's twelve years of servitude (which should really have been six), in a reverberating set of allusive meanings as well as a fantastical send-up of time's own unity—a unity that was palpably breaking down in Shakespeare's London, in the face of the political, legal, and practical extremities created by England's new forms of correction, transportation, and colonization.

Time, which all humankind might be thought to be subject to, could also be manmade, subject to use and abuse, as *The Tempest* repeatedly tells it. Antonio for example describes usurping Prospero's crown as gaining a power over administrators and an administrative state so complete it includes the clock: "They'l take suggestion, as a Cat laps milke, / They'll tell the clocke, to any business that / We say befits the time."[102] Sebastian, too, makes a physical threat into the joke of a temporal metaphor: "Looke, hee's winding up the watch of his wit," he says; "by and by it will strike."[103] Such self-thematizing statements draw our attention to the play's circumstantial insistence on keeping track and losing track of time, a feature that I would argue transfers a measure of comedic backtalk, from idle players to political powers, to the level of form and structure.

But even more important is the way *The Tempest* and especially *The Mock-Tempest* play their physical enactment on the stage against such circumstantial references embedded in the script, deepening the audience's vertiginous sense not only of the political possibilities that inhere in time but of the play's own differing temporalities. In Duffet's musical version, the original play's obsession is preserved in a parodic obverse; in this case Prospero and Ariel work their magic through the night, not day: "We have much to do e're morning come . . . Before the gorgeous Sun upon House top doth Sneer."[104] "Whatsa Clock?" Prospero asks; "Great Tom already has struck ten," Ariel answers.[105] But in *The Tempest*, the text's temporal references seem themselves to be partly the vestiges of stage and musical performance. *The Tempest* is "the first of [Shakespeare's] plays to show unequivocal evidence that it was conceived with act breaks in mind," Andrew Gurr has argued.[106] Whereas on the outdoor stages there was no pause between acts, on indoor stages such as Blackfriars, "for the practical purpose of getting time to trim the candles that lit the stage and auditorium," musical interludes between acts were standard.[107] Thus *The Tempest*, which of all Shakespeare's plays seems the most self-consciously set in a continuous, naturalist "real time," was in fact the most artificially or artfully designed as a series of actual self-interruptions and lyrical intervals.

This helps explain why the characters seem especially eager to reestablish the time of their day at the opening of each new act. This might also explain why the nonmagical characters mention three hours as their duration on shore, while Prospero and Ariel's clock seems to indicate the activity has taken more like four and a half, from before two o'clock when they first check, to after six when they finally finish. Perhaps we can also understand this disjunction as the source of other, thematic ironies. *The Tempest* is composed in bursts of song and irrupting masques, not only between acts but within scenes as well. This pattern takes up the external tension between the audience's experience of a total duration (including act break interruptions) and the beguiled characters' "real time" experience of their interval onstage, and then recreates that tension as an internal one echoing in the gaps between the differing experiences of time across the characters onstage. Such variances could be analyzed along the lines of inflicted racial difference, in Ariel's finite service versus Caliban's permanent slavery, for example; or class, in the noblemen's psychic punishment of conscience versus the physical pinching for the ruffians; or feeling, as in Ferdinand and Miranda's time in love; or perhaps age, as in Prospero's forgetfulness, even at the height of his power. For the remainder of this chapter I will focus on the linguistic as well as theatrical means used by *The Tempest* and *The Mock-Tempest* to create and critique three temporalities: carceral, amorous, and lyric time.

Prospero's "rough Magicke" mostly takes the form of his ability either to hyperanimate or to stop bodies, which is, oddly enough, both an ability to inflict idleness and to extract a supernatural amount of work from a given interval.[108] Prospero can "pinch," but he can also freeze, spellbind, or "Spell-stop."[109] When Ferdinand at first presumes to resist, "*He drawes*" his sword but "*is charmed from moving*."[110] The charm magically literalizes Prospero's threat: "Ile manacle thy necke and feete together"; yet the spellbinding is also described in penitential terms, as the inner affliction of an offender's conscience: "Put thy sword up Traitor, / Who maks'st a shew, but dar'st not strike: thy conscience / Is so possest with guilt."[111]

Thematically, Prospero's powers are deployed in "engineering . . . repentance" as Deborah Willis calls it, but formally the play uses magic to reverse-dramatize worktime, or rather to embody "idleness" itself: frozen players on the stage.[112] What could be more idle than that? The noblemen are comically (but also dreadfully) abandoned "Just as you left them; all prisoners . . . They cannot boudge till your release."[113] The charm is so strong that their tears of repentance seem to melt down their frozen faces: Gonzalo's "teares run downe his beard like winters drops."[114] The other half of the shipmates appear to have been frozen in work-sleep aboard the ship throughout the play; as Ariel says, "with a Charm joind to their

suffred labour" they have been "left asleep."[115] This line perfectly distills the play's pattern of puncturing its own realism to accurately recreate the surrealism of time under work discipline. On the one hand, Ariel's charm is redundant. The sailors are so exhausted from their "suffred labour" that they could easily have slept through the three hours of *The Tempest* (or dreamed it). On the other hand, the "Charm joined to their suffred labour" conjures an image of the workers asleep on their feet, magically spellbound in the midst of manning the boat, as if—as indeed the discourse of penal transportation seemed woefully bound to show—one could be both constantly working and incorrigibly idle.[116] "To be asleepe / With eyes wide open: standing, speaking, moving: / And yet so fast asleepe," Sebastian comments.[117] Again and again in *The Tempest*, images of carceral confinement denote unfreedom, but not inaction. Even under Sycorax, when Ariel was "confine[d]" within the pine tree, as Prospero reminds him, the passing of time echoed with the activities of a workhouse:

> within which rift
> Imprison'd, thou didst painefully remaine
> A dozen yeeres: within which space she di'd,
> And left thee there: where thou didst vent thy groanes
> As fast as Mill-wheeles strike.[118]

The "space" of the dozen years was filled with and marked by Ariel's own groans, which are chained, metaphorically at least, to the rate of pushing the mill.[119]

In other instances, Prospero's magic makes it possible to contain such expanses of worktime on the stage, not only within frozen or extremely idle bodies but by speeding up processes that ought to take place over extended periods: finishing the work, feeling repentant, falling in love. Ferdinand may be the most important case here. As soon as he is "*charmed from moving*," he finds himself arrested both by Prospero's magic and his feelings for Miranda.[120]

> My spirits, as in a dreame, are all bound up:
> My Fathers losse, the weaknesse which I feele,
> The wracke of all my friends, nor this mans threats,
> To whom I am subdued, are but light to me,
> Might I but through my prison once a day
> Behold this Maid: all corners else o'th'Earth
> Let liberty make use of: space enough
> Have I in such a prison.[121]

This is one of the most moving images in the play. Lovestruck, all of Ferdinand's prior and present woes have become "but light" to him, that is, weightless, inconsequential.[122] The visual logic of the metaphor's next step transvalues illumination as a positive quality to Miranda, "this Mayd" whom Ferdinand would rather behold, instead of his former life, "through my prison once a day."[123] The time of his former life, with its associations and griefs, means less now; instead Miranda's repeating yet momentary light blots all this out—even if Ferdinand's bondage to her father constitutes the prison in which he finds himself. "Space enough / Have I in such a prison," Ferdinand says, because in Miranda's presence, time transforms: "tis fresh morning with me / When you are by at night."[124]

The play's depiction of Ferdinand and Miranda's courtship as a punishing period of indentured service could be its grimmest scene, but it also one of its funniest, because of the way it stages labor as comedic action—no easy feat to pull off. Ferdinand piles logs in contented, lovesick earnestness, while Miranda tries to stop him from trying too hard. "I must remove / Some thousands of these Logs, and pile them up," Ferdinand solemnly says, entering mid-task, "*bearing a log*," announcing his ridiculous work because he must spare the audience from actually watching all of it.[125] "Alas, now pray you / Worke not so hard," Miranda tells him; "Pray set it downe, and rest you."[126] They fight over a log: "Ile beare your Logges the while: pray give me that," Miranda insists.[127] Ferdinand meanwhile professes his love in metaphors of enslavement. "The verye instant that I saw you, did / My heart flye to your service, there resides / To make me slave to it, and for your sake / Am I this patient Logge-man."[128] With "a heart as willing / As bondage ere of freedome," Ferdinand desires to be bound in marriage to Miranda; the phrase is an oblique one.[129] Whether "ere" means "ever" or "before" shifts the meaning in the romance posited between freedom and unfreedom.

But the unity of the play's circumstantial time, either at labor or in love, also seems to be warping. Ferdinand announces that

> this my meane Taske,
> Would be as heavy to me, as odious, but
> The Mistris which I serve, quickens what's dead,
> And makes my labours, pleasures.[130]

Perhaps time bends because the lovers are indeed eager to turn from labors to pleasures. Miranda claims that her father will be wrapped up in his books "for these three houres" and therefore she and Ferdinand are "safe" to take a break. But this is the third act already. Surely the "three houres" ought to be a little

further along than in act one.[131] Is Miranda exaggerating in order to convince Ferdinand? Examining the play's habit of repeating cues for its actors, Simon Palfrey and Tiffany Stern have described *The Tempest*'s "to-and-fro temporalities."[132] Something swerves here, against all the earlier circumstantial reassurances. Ferdinand reiterates that he will be laboring nonstop till sunset: "The Sun will set before I shall discharge / What I must strive to do."[133] But then at the close of the scene Miranda disappears "Till halfe an houre hence," perhaps announcing or commenting on an intermission.[134] The lovers are next seen in the fourth act, appearing with Prospero's blessing to watch their wedding masque: "If I have too austerely punish'd you," he says to Ferdinand, let the marriage "make amends."[135] But Prospero then interrupts the masque to swap story lines again: "the minute of their plot / Is almost come."[136] Having briefly lost track of time, transported by the masque, he must then rush to prevent the attempt at usurpation, which had succeeded twelve years earlier, from succeeding again. When Prospero returns to reveal Ferdinand and Miranda, they are in an idyll, at play within the play: "*Here Prospero discovers Ferdinand and Miranda, playing at chess*."[137] Chess is a slow game, and a flirtatious one, but the scene is also domestic; so soon after their interrupted wedding masque, they quarrel already like a married couple.[138] In fact, the couple seems so enduringly intimate that audiences might wonder whether this has been half a linear hour, or whether it has been more like the "three houres" that Miranda had promised Prospero could lose so easily in his books.[139] By skipping in and out on the pair—working, wedding, playing in a domestic scene—audiences are given glimpses of other kinds of time. The lovers' hours had rushed, after all, even while Ferdinand was at his "painfull" "labor" of log dragging, as he claimed: Miranda's presence "quickens" even "what's dead" making all his "labours, pleasures."[140] Hours seem to fit into thirty minutes. Time that felt like the night of a prison becomes the "fresh morning" of freedom when Miranda is near.[141] Between this language and their inset scenes, which seem to provide proleptic glimpses from their domestic future, *The Tempest* invites speculation about what time feels like for Ferdinand and Miranda; it might even suggest they have experienced a quantifiably different duration within the play itself.

The Tempest's famous songs, perhaps the hallmark of its Blackfriars staging, are another way in which a "to-and-fro" temporality is created, and yet countermanded, by the text's obsession with its own supposed synchronicity.[142] Ariel's pied-piper-like singing is often used to suspend *The Tempest*'s more discursive temporality and to create plot transitions back and forth; Caliban's freedom song has become one of the play's best-known moments. In *The Mock-Tempest*,

music becomes even more paramount, especially as a means by which the satire transforms the play's representations of labor. Here, songs and dances are transposed from the famous pieces of Shakespeare's play and the popular opera of Dryden and Davenant's version to the work songs of Bridewell.[143] "This is but a kind of a doleful Tune, to beat Hemp to," comments one Stephanio.[144] The historical prison was known both for the songs sung by prisoners while at work (beating hemp, for example) and for its depictions in popular ballads.[145] In the mock play, Ariel and his Spirits then become jail keepers and devils, performing numbers that dramatize the miseries of hard labor at Bridewell. "*To the whip and stocks wee'l confine*," sings Devil 4, "*So poor, soo poor, they still shall remain; / Mirth, or good Wine, they shall ne'r have again*," Devil 1 chimes in.[146] "O Inhumane Correction!" Alonzo cries, while the Devils dance around him.[147] That line neatly encapsulates the primary critique that followed Bridewell and England's houses of correction since their beginning: "Correction" was supposed to be a humane kind of punishment, but was instead a hypocrisy, if not a laughable contradiction in terms. Later the Spirits consider shipping Alonzo and his hapless companions abroad, rather than keeping them in the house of correction: "*Say, say, / Shall we take up these Rogues, and Carry them away?*" sings Devil 1; "*No, no, / Till we show them their Crimes, let em stay*," replies Devil 2.[148] Show is a telling verb in this instance. To "show" a supposed criminal their own crime reveals instead the improvisatory morality of these charges. Ariel meanwhile keeps time with his whip, exhorting the prisoners to their work. "Ariel *Sings*":

> *His knell is hourly rung on his back.*
> *Heark now I hear it, thwick, thwick, thwack,*
> *Thwick &*c.———*thwack*.[149]

Whereas Shakespeare's Ariel sang "*Full fadom five thy Father lies*" where "*Sea Nimphs hourly ring his knell, / Harke now I heare them, ding-dong bell*," the Ariel of Bridewell sings and whips, keeping time with painful blows: "*His knell is hourly rung on his back, Heark now I hear it, thwick thwick thwack*."[150]

Duffet's remake debauches two problems at once: how to represent pain in language, but also how to represent time, especially painful time, such as time at hard labor. This brings to the fore questions *The Tempest*, too, had been turning over. What would time feel like in the institution-less expanses of the new world? In early modern England, the position of the sun and pocket sundials contributed to temporal awareness, as did the tolling of the hours on church bells; "time telling was an embodied practice: something with a strong physical

and sensory dimension, rather than an abstract cerebral skill," Hailwood comments.[151] But time was also a matter of "local knowledge" determined by proximity to public places where whippings and bell ringing went on.[152] By staging the extremities of such questions—a desert isle, a prison workhouse—*The Tempest* and *The Mock-Tempest* cast these daily matters into higher relief. How to stage the hours? How to play the realities of hard labor against an audience's desire to be transported from all such realities? On Hallowmas or November 1, 1611, *The Tempest*'s timing might even have been designed to coincide not only with the liturgical calendar but with the moments when London's church bells rang out the hours. "Prospero makes much of the play's happening in the mid-afternoon," John Bender writes: "especially notable in point of clock time is that Evening Prayer in Shakespeare's day took place around four p.m.: that is, during the fictional time of the play and during its real time of enactment in the public theater."[153] With London's own bells ringing Prospero's hours, like the sea nymphs that "hourly ring his knell"—"Harke now I heare them"—sound and song must have become the play's most powerful ways of evoking the interpenetrating realities and unrealities of time.[154]

But in *The Mock-Tempest*, the gimmick of the songs and dances offers a parodic solution to the aesthetic riddle of staging worktime. The most poignant example is the final number, a revival of Caliban's freedom song. The stage direction calls for "M U S I C K" and then "*the Scene drawn discovers* Bridewell *with Prisners in Several postures of labour and punishment . . . then arise* Caliban, *and Sycorax*."[155] The prisoners in their frozen tableau reflect Shakespeare's original conceits, in the masques as well as the frozen nobles and sailors. And then they come to life. Miraculously, Caliban and Sycorax have overthrown Prospero's charms, and announce "A play day" for the prisoners.[156] The pun of a "play day" again neatly encapsulates *The Tempest*'s central conceit: that its own duration recreates a certain day, but also that that day was for pleasure and play rather than the labors depicted or required. Sycorax sings: "*Let Pillory / And Stocks agree, / To set all free: / Let the Beetle and Whip, be both laid to sleep, / And Prisn'rs Condemn'd, live*."[157] Instead of the prisoners working in an idle, sleeplike state, the "Beetle and Whip be both laid to sleep."[158] Caliban takes up the tune: "*Be still, be still, ye whips*."[159] It is difficult to imagine a more immediately provocative scene on any stage in England, before or after the Restoration, than the Keepers made idle while the Bridewell inmates dance: "While the *Chorus* is Singing the Prisners are freed, and make ready for a Dance."[160]

As with Gonzalo's commonwealth of idleness, however, the mock play's utopian yearnings are sufficiently ironized to both serve and subvert the purposes

of London's public entertainments. Even as the prisoners sing, dance, drink, and rejoice, "The Scene opens" again, and "discovers the Sea," with the sun rising.[161] Time is up, and the dream is over. Caliban and Sycorax, it turns out, are not really freeing the prisoners, but instead enticing them onto their ship, and into a different, more open-ended, and yet more deceptive unfreedom. While Shakespeare's "spirits" were more ambiguous, these "Spirits" are explicitly meant as a byword for slavers. As John Donoghue explains, "deception and coercion always figured in the supply of the colonial workforce," although it was not until the mid-seventeenth century that these methods "became the main means by which recruiters, merchants, planters, and the state monopolized the supply of plantation bond slaves," and when "new words such as 'spiriting,' 'Barbadosed,' and later 'kidnapping' entered the English language."[162] "*Wee'l closely convey you by a private back door*," sings one of these Spirits in *The Mock-Tempest*.[163] Sycorax coos of soft beds and idle pleasures onboard, whisking the hapless prisoners away. This freedom song asks the audience to laugh at the credulous prisoners, and perhaps even at themselves, for entertaining and being entertained—or perhaps even being transported—by the freedom song of a prison. "*Let every back . . . have peace*," the mock Caliban sings above the dancing workers: "*let Correction cease*."[164]

Conclusion

This chapter has sought to understand how carceral humanism abetted the project of Anglo-Protestant colonialism in the Atlantic world, as part of a process initiated in the late sixteenth century through national penal statutes that married the house of correction and the plantation as alternatives to one another and as joint alternatives to the gallows. In the ensuing decades, this legal doctrine slowly came into effect, beginning from the docks of Bridewell on October 2, 1607:

> William Person, app[ren]tice to M[aster] Rodes a dyer and sent in hither by the watch being runn from his said M[aster] and havinge cozened him of diverse goods, is by order of Court ~~punished~~ and with consent of his M[aster] sent to Virginia.[165]

Of the many questions that are raised by this brief glimpse into the linked history of carceral and colonial institutions, two aspects stand out. First is a word that appears to be a mistake. "Punished" is stricken by the scribe. Perhaps William Person was not whipped, unlike many other entrants to the house of

correction who were corporally corrected at the whipping post upon judgment but before being sent to their further labors. Perhaps the scribe began a habitual phrase—*whipped and set to the work of this house*—before retracting it. But perhaps "punished" is redacted from the record as a material sign of the statutory notion that transportation was a form of pardon, not a punishment. This is a watershed moment, not just for the history of colonial plantation, but for carceral humanism, "a logic that sustains and expands the carceral state through appeals to its benevolence," captured in this instance expanding again in a different but not surprising direction.[166] And yet there is a second, perhaps more immediate question left unanswered by Person's record: How long? Was Person "Sent to Virginia" indefinitely? Was such an indefinite indenture a fair alternative to a few weeks in the house of correction? Practically speaking, even if Person consented to this arrangement and survived the crossing, he would have arrived at the plantation only to face the disasters of the starving time. Especially as a punishment concocted on the pretense of stealing "diverse goods" from his master's household, what kind of pardon or benevolence could this have been?

These same questions are central preoccupations in Shakespeare's *Tempest* and in the restoration's *Mock-Tempest.* Shakespeare's play both opens and closes by comically reversing the idea of transportation as a pardon or more humane alternative to an even harsher life of punishment in England. "I have great comfort from this fellow," the courtier Gonzalo says of the Boatswain as the storm wracks the stage in the first scene, because "methinks he hath no drowning marke upon him," but rather "his complexion is perfect Gallowes."[167] Gonzalo seems to imply that even the hardy sailor, who keeps asking the noble landlubbers to get out of his way, looks seasick himself. At the same time the Boatswain's impertinence does give witty Gonzalo some reason to hope, for this sailor looks to him like the type of criminal who ought to be hanged on land, not drowned at sea, and perhaps for that reason if no other, they will all make it safely to shore: "Make the rope of his destiny our cable," Gonzalo announces; "If he be not borne to be hang'd, our case is miserable."[168] Born to be hanged: brought forth across the ocean as a pardon, only to suffer the same fate ascribed by class at birth. As one Virginia Company report put it in 1622, "the Honourable Company hath beene humble suiters to his Majestie, to get vagabonds and condemned men to goe thither," but "so much scorned was the name of *Virginia,* some did chuse to be hanged ere they would goe thither, and were."[169] It is worth asking how radical a play we know to have been staged at the Jacobean court could possibly have been, and yet the politics of the scene's humor are sharp. The fictional noblemen resist remaining below decks, where real indentured servants and

enslaved people were known to be kept indefinitely, but neither can the nobles be anything but a nuisance above deck during the storm. "Worke you then," the Boatswain yells at the courtiers, throwing up his hands; "Hang cur, hang," Antonio responds.[170] "I'le warrant him for drowning," Gonzalo says, changing his mind, then changing it back again, as if it were up to him to hand down a sentence, regardless of the testimony of elements themselves: "Hee'l be hang'd yet, / Though every drop of water sweare against it."[171] As the ship splits, Gonzalo's final words play upon the devil's bargain of indenture for criminalized and poor Londoners: "Now would I give a thousand furlongs of Sea, for an Acre of barren ground." This stands in comical contrast to what Strachey said transpired during the emergency of the storm on the *Sea Venture*, when even noble passengers pitched in, working for their life like commoners: "Then men might be seen to labour, I may well say, for life, and the better sort, even our Governour, and Admiral themselves, not refusing their turn."[172] Strachey's amazement is figured in the surprising number of hours the "better sort" proved capable of laboring: "And it is most true, such as in all their life times had never done hours work before (their minds now helping their bodies) were able twice forty eight hours together to toil with the best."[173] In contrast, Shakespeare's version comically deflates these claims, playing the nobles for laughs as a nuisance in an emergency.

What *The Mock-Tempest* makes comically explicit is not only that Shakespeare's *Tempest* had subtly framed itself as an address to these issues, even at the outset of the seventeenth century, but the remarkable ways the play does so, especially through the tension between the kinds of time, such as carceral duration, lyricism, and even love, spoken and acted into existence in the play. By continuously building up its obsessive references to the naturalist circumstances of the naturalist timing, only to repeatedly disperse that day to the riotous winds of different tempos and supernatural reversals of circumstance the play physically presents, *The Tempest* achieves a crucial formal effect, as well as a political comment on the shared experiences of ambiguous time that joined disparate kinds of labor at the beginning of the seventeenth century, especially colonial labor and carceral labor, but even theatrical playing as well.

The Tempest's epilogue picks up where the play's first scene had left off, this time aligning the stage players even more explicitly with the laborers they represented, and perhaps with the playwright's personal exhaustion as well. "I must be heere confinde by you," Prospero or the actor playing Prospero announces; he is imprisoned "by your Spell," as he reveals to the audience, and can only be freed or spelled if you "release me from my bands / With the helpe of your good hands."[174]

> Gentle breath of yours, my Sailes
> Must fill, or else my project failes,
> Which was to please: Now I want
> Spirits to enforce, Art to inchant . . .[175]

Prospero's language positions his character as actor or playwright, but also as guilty offender, under lock and key, and as colonial adventurer, eager to set sail. Unless the crowd claps and hollers, the clever formula goes, he too will remain imprisoned on the stage, like any Ariel, any "Spirit[] . . . to enforce," trapped in his cloven pine, or on his island, or in his tasks, his indenture.[176] The actor playing Prospero is stuck at work. He is watching the light dwindle and listening for the bell.

If we read Prospero's valedictory speeches as a comment on Shakespeare's own impending retirement, then perhaps *The Tempest*'s meditation on playing as a form of labor comes into one final focus. The image sharpens through the epilogue down to a final reversal in the play's very last couplet. In those final lines, Prospero or the actor (and the figure, perhaps, for Shakespeare) places himself very much in accordance with the preacher Crashaw's accusations, as another sort of the "idle persons" targeted for transportation and indenture by institutions like Bridewell and the Virginia Company. "*As you from crimes would pardon'd be, / Let your indulgence set me free*," Prospero finally begs the crowd.[177] If these are the last two lines Shakespeare wrote alone, then this was the carceral metaphor he chose to go out on. His time has come. He is, most simply, an employee who wants to go home, or an indentured servant who wants to go free, but in his chosen metaphor Shakespeare retires as a confined criminal, seeking a pardon to elsewhere. The epilogue's final moment thus calls back one last time to the metonym created between the duration of the play as aesthetic work and Ariel's experience of time at labor. Prospero's final words within the play itself, to Ariel, give his instructions for the next morning's tasks, and for his ultimate release: "Then to the Elements / Be free."[178] Prospero's final words in the epilogue link to these lines in their rhyme: "*As you from crimes would pardon'd be, / Let your indulgence set me free*."[179] The lines that ask for freedom from the audience, as a pardon for the actors, repeat as their imperative Prospero's final injunction to Ariel: Be free.

CHAPTER 5

Milton's Reader, Thomas Ellwood, and the "Literary Worke-house"

The Correcting Perspective

Over the centuries, John Milton above any English author or thinker has been associated with the idea that greater freedom in reading and writing can be inversely justified for social purposes as an edifying or even correctional practice. The beguiling character of Satan in *Paradise Lost* (1667), which led William Blake to believe that Milton was "of the Devil's party without knowing it," is the best-known example.[1] The poem's liberty, in its attraction to Satan, places readers in Eve's position. To resist Satan's language, but also to understand *Paradise Lost*'s syntactic and semantic ambiguities, readers become responsible for administering what Stanley Fish called a "correcting perspective."[2] But while that "correcting" inculcates a kind of discipline, it is self-discipline, habituating the exercise of free will. In this way Milton's poetry is often understood as the practice for a theory laid out in *Areopagitica* (1644), which argues for a wider form of freedom of the press by claiming that the responsibility for censoring, correcting, and indeed harshly punishing erroneous books ("as malefactors") ought to lie with individual readers, rather than with ecclesiastical or governmental organizations.[3] "I deny not, but that it is of the greatest concernment in the Church and Commonwealth, to have a vigilant eye how Bookes demean themselves, as well as men; and thereafter to confine, imprison, and do sharpest justice on them," Milton's tract announces in its opening pages, arguing instead that such imaginative policing would be more thoroughly carried out by individuals for themselves.[4] What *Areopagitica* demands, and what Milton's poetry practices through its readers, is not a freedom from correction as censorship, but

rather the freedom *to* correct: to censor at will as one sees fit. Institutional contexts and corollaries have certainly not been lost on scholars in these regards. The strategies of discipline that "traverse the house of correction" in the seventeenth century also "shape the aesthetic work," Laura Lunger Knoppers has written of Milton's poetry.[5] Especially in *Paradise Lost*, imaginative freedom seems impossible to separate from the Protestant ethic, which the poem co-opts as "fully internalized, a means of controlling not society . . . but the self," Knoppers comments.[6]

Samson Agonistes may be even more crucial than *Paradise Lost* for understanding Milton's thinking about the relationship between imaginative liberty and social discipline. Soon after its first appearance in 1671, appended to *Paradise Regain'd* in a slim octavo volume, *Samson Agonistes* became Milton's final published poem.[7] In this context, the biblical story of Samson—the defeated, blinded, and imprisoned rebel who ultimately overthrows his captors—lends itself to being read as Milton's coda on his own work, as both an author and a tireless advocate for the "good old cause" of English republicanism. After the Restoration, when Milton was in and out of prison, and when enemies cited the poet's blindness as a spiritual punishment, the poet, "like Samson, must have wondered whether God had abandoned him," Barbara Lewalski notes.[8] Also like Samson, Milton must have hoped for a resurgence of religious and political liberty, especially after the crackdown of the Clarendon Codes in the 1660s.[9] Such a feeling of personal and political immediacy surely contributes to interest in the text. In recent years *Samson Agonistes* has become a flashpoint, "the major point of contestation" for Milton critics, Mark Kelly and Joseph Wittreich dubbed it.[10] Much of the recent discussion has centered on the poem's tragic end. In his revenge, Samson pulls down the Philistines' temple, killing himself and some untold number of civilians, and leaving readers to rationalize justifications for this violence; to doubt their faith; to feel that another "correcting perspective" beyond the poem is called down.[11] If Samson's "rousing motions" come from God, are they unquestionable?[12] Or if Samson's example is a negative and a tragic one, what lesson are Christian readers to take from it? How should violence, even the violence of punishment or warfare, ever be justified, theologically or otherwise?

Yet something seems to be missing from these debates and from *Samson Agonistes* itself—in addition to the *Omissa*, the curiously absent lines that readers of the 1671 edition were tasked with reinserting in the poem's flyleaves.[13] John Guillory describes "the long-standing conviction of Milton's readers that the narrative of *Samson Agonistes* does not yield to interpretation unless it can be made to stand quasi-allegorically for some other story," especially one "whose constituent concerns and characters belong to the time and place of the drama's

composition."[14] Such a conviction might not seem like a commendation of the poem's formal qualities. But scholars have recently emphasized a context that helps explicate the topical feeling readers detect in *Samson* and also augments our perception of the poem's achievement. This context is the prison. The poem's prose "Argument" begins by taking its cue from the Book of Judges, with "Samson made captive, blind, and now in the prison at Gaza, there to labour as in a common workhouse."[15] Milton's insistence on this detail and his elaboration of it far surpasses the biblical precedent.[16] In the Bible, Samson's punishment lasts a single verse, but in *Samson Agonistes*, the entire drama takes place in the unified time and setting of "before the Prison in Gaza."[17] When the poem opens, Samson sits down to rest "from my task of servile toil," which occupies him "Daily in the common prison."[18] He laments his condition:

> To grind in brazen fetters under task
> With this heaven-gifted strength? O glorious strength
> Put to the labour of a beast, debased
> Lower than bond-slave![19]

Samson's carceral descriptions redound one upon on another. "I a prisoner chained, scarce freely draw / The air imprisoned also," he announces; later his "bondage" is described as reinforced by his "lost sight"—"Prison within prison."[20] Milton's poem "never lets us forget that the hero is working at the 'common workhouse' or 'publick Mill' of the Philistines," Blair Hoxby comments.[21]

This chapter builds on several recent interpretations of *Samson Agonistes* in order to offer a reading of the poem that connects carceral and contextual politics to the rhetoric of the text's material form in 1671. Scholarship by Hoxby, Sharon Achinstein, and Molly Murray has increasingly led a turn away from what Murray calls "a disembodied intellectual history in which liberty and its lack are always already abstract theoretical concepts."[22] Instead, Murray encourages readers to recognize the disciplinary and carceral politics that shape Milton's poem. "To read *Samson* as a poem of civil imprisonment is to restore to it a particular early modern context," Murray writes, "one in which the prison stood as a concrete proving ground for competing claims about prerogative power and legal remedy."[23] Taking this cue from Murray, the present chapter moves in a slightly different direction. Its topic is the relation between Milton's famous rhetorical correction—or the "correcting perspective" the reader is called on to provide in Fish's paradigm—and other kinds of discipline that were being experimented with in Milton's England, and whose representation can be

discerned in the tragedy of *Samson Agonistes*.[24] Examining this connection helps explicate the poem's political investments and reveals the extent to which that investment may have been functioning as one of the poem's formal qualities, between its corrected and uncorrected forms, in a way that has often been lost on modern readers. Not only did Milton use the confinement of the prison to tie abstractions of freedom and unfreedom into the embodied language of poetry; the poem also communicates a clever transvaluation from the supposedly correctional yet corrupt labor of the workhouse or the house of correction to the more open-ended work of making literary meaning. Evidence for this reading will be drawn from the poem's language, its contexts, and ultimately found in the corrections demanded of its original readers by the 1671 edition's *Errata* and *Omissa*. The poem's contortions, including its clever *Omissa*, may also be part of what tips readers off to something "quasi-allegorical" between its lines.[25]

Understanding these dynamics will require exploring two wider contexts. Neither is unknown to Miltonists, although neither has been exhausted. The first concerns institutions. This is Milton's work on educational subcommittees within the Hartlib Circle, from which emerged *Of Education* and William Petty's plans for what he called "Literary-work-houses" similar to those which the London Corporation for the Poor would go on to establish during the Commonwealth years.[26] By reading *Of Education* and *Areopagitica* in these contexts, as members of the Hartlib Circle seem to have done, one can glean further insights into Milton's thinking about reformist institutions and the nature of institutional power. The second context concerns Milton's student, the Quaker Thomas Ellwood. *Samson Agonistes* is thought to have been composed between 1663 and 1665, in the same years when independent sects were being targeted for punishment in England's houses of correction and when Milton's pupil was caught up in these persecutions.[27] In 1662–63 Ellwood was taken from his afternoons spent reading with Milton and thrown into Bridewell, where he sewed waistcoats and composed poetry until he could return to Milton's side—when he was given the manuscript of *Paradise Lost*. Ellwood is the "asker of the famous question about the sequel to *Paradise Lost*," Achinstein notes, and his memoirs have often been used as sources for Milton's life.[28] If Ellwood to some extent prompted *Paradise Regain'd*, why should his presence not also be felt in its companion poem, *Samson Agonistes*?

Accordingly, there are two main directions within the larger arguments of this chapter. Preliminary sections aim to show that Milton's writings from the 1640s, especially *Of Education* and *Areopagitica*, can usefully be compared with and recontextualized alongside the development and revitalization of reformed

and reformist disciplinary institutions pushed by Hartlib and his Circle and the ensuing London Corporation for the Poor. Subsequently, I read *Samson Agonistes* through Milton's disillusionment with such worldly projects and the corruption and abuse of power they almost inevitably seem to entail. What the poem endorses and enacts instead, even more literally than *Areopagitica* or *Paradise Lost*, is a morally ambiguous counter-labor: the work of reading and writing, the intellectual labor of imagining and envisioning other worlds as a means of building resilience and resistance in this one.

From the House of Correction to the Literary Workhouse

In England in the mid-seventeenth century, the epistemological developments of the scientific revolution or the Baconian "Great Instauration" were inseparable from attempts to reorganize, reform, or imagine entirely new institutions, including institutions of welfare and social discipline.[29] Not since the foundation and refoundation of London's house of correction and royal hospitals in the 1550s had the country witnessed such an "ambitious scheme" for poor relief and control as that conceived in the 1640s.[30] A "planned campaign" can be pieced together in more than a dozen pamphlets arranged by Samuel Hartlib and his Circle, including better-known tracts by Leonard Lee (*A Remonstrance . . . touching the supportable miseries of the poore*, 1645), Thomas Stanley (*Stanleyes Remedy*, 1646), and Rice Bush (*The Poor Mans Friend*, 1649), along with many policy papers and pamphlets attributed to Hartlib himself, that "one man institution for scholarly and scientific exchange."[31] The impact of these schemes, which would not be fully felt until the 1690s, took two main forms. The first was the London Corporation for the Poor, established in 1647, which Paul Slack calls "the pinnacle of the Hartlib group's achievements."[32] This was a new umbrella organization for administering the city's efforts at both welfare and social control; the London Corporation would be disbanded at the Restoration but revived in the 1690s. The second project was an institutional model called the workhouse, which was first pioneered in seized royal properties in the 1640s and '50s, although the term is more familiar now from those larger-scale and longer-lasting projects that were relaunched in the final decade of the seventeenth century.

The workhouse was meant to be a better alternative to the house of correction, but how true that would prove is a matter of some debate. Whereas Bridewell had been imagined a century earlier as the carceral arm of London's other hospitals—a synthesis of prison and workshop where able-bodied offenders

would be punished and rehabilitated—the new workhouses were originally imagined as a less punitive version of England's many bridewells, where willing orphans and offenders would find employment, vocational training, and education.[33] Lee's pamphlet from this optimistic moment described an utopian scheme for building up workhouses in "every *Parish, Town, Hamlet, Precinct*," but especially alongside every "*Prison*, and *House of correction*."[34] Bush set the more realistic goal of starting with four cardinal workhouses around London.[35] Unlike in houses of correction, labor was not necessarily extracted as punishment in response to minor crimes, beyond the general criminalization of poverty. Also unlike in the houses of correction, workers were not meant to be confined overnight. "Hartlib's workhouses were not akin to the repressive institutions of Victorian England," Charles Webster writes in his influential study *The Great Instauration*, although this assessment may be optimistic.[36] Certainly one remarkable difference was the renewed emphasis placed on education and literacy in particular. Two hours of the work done in the workhouses each day were to be spent on reading and writing.[37] Hartlib's associate Petty described this system of institutions as "*Ergastula Literaria*" or "Literary-work-houses."[38]

Milton's involvement with the Hartlib Circle was coterminous with these developments, beginning in the summer of 1643, when Hartlib commissioned the young tutor and poet to describe his own ideas for curricular reform. Like the idea of the workhouses themselves, Milton's thoughts on the topic had taken shape in Bridewell's shadow, while the poet was living in St. Bride's churchyard in 1639–40.[39] A few years later, Hartlib circulated Milton's resulting tract between the fall of 1643 and the spring of 1644, when John Drury, John Hall, and Cheney Culpepper made various comments, and when curricular discussions for the new workhouses were also underway.[40] Milton's pamphlet was then published as *Of Education, To Master Samuel Hartlib*, on or before June 5, 1644. Later that same year, about November 23, 1644, *Areopagitica* was published and circulated by Hartlib, at the very least to some of his German correspondents, who admired the text despite its "all too highflown style."[41] Milton also presented hand-corrected copies to some of his friends and associates, such as the collector George Thomason.[42]

Petty, whose ideas about the so-called literary workhouse in *The Advice of W.P. to Mr. Samuel Hartlib* (1647) and other pamphlets resemble certain aspects and passages in both *Of Education* and *Areopagitica*, served with Milton around this time as one of seven "Comissioners" on Hartlib's "Councel for Schooles"; it seems plausible that Petty would be one of the associates to whom the pieces were circulated or presented.[43] Scholars have detected many similar connections.[44]

Timothy Raylor has argued that the Hartlib group's ideas about elite education and elite discipline were "profoundly influenced by Milton's work," and that *Of Education* had a "demonstrable influence" on "the Hartlibian schemes promoted in its wake."[45] Around 1647 "Mr. Miltons Academie" was listed as a goal for the Hartlibians to pursue.[46] But less attention has been paid to the ways in which Milton's ideas might also connect with concurrent projects for the education and discipline of the poorest and lowest classes, such as the so-called literary workhouses.

What was the nature of these ideas? In most ways the new projects were a return to what had been Bridewell's original intentions, although the house of correction's workshops and schoolrooms had long ago been overshadowed by its whipping posts and its use in many cases as a traditional prison. While Hartlib's Circle often spoke of "the public good" where the previous century's utopian reformers appealed to the ideal of "the common weal," the language in these new proposals remained largely identical.[47] In 1650 London's governors issued a call for charitable funds to support the Corporation for the Poor's workhouses, by which "the Poor shall be kept from extream want, the streets cleared from Vagrants, the Unlearned taught, and the Idle from such temptations as attend that kind of life," for example.[48] The same promises that had been used to justify penal labor at Bridewell were now being applied to the workhouses. At times Petty himself was eager to transpose dubious rhetorical links between punishment and labor or even enslavement, comparable to those found in More's *Utopia* (1516) or the controversial Vagrancy Act of 1547–49: "Why should not insolvent Thieves be rather punished with slavery then death? so as being slaves they may be forced to as much labour, and as cheap fare, as nature will endure, and thereby become as two men added to the Commonwealth, and not as one taken away from it."[49] "As for *Thieves*," Petty adds in later tract: "see Sir *Thomas Moor*, in the first part of his *Utopia*."[50]

But the first task, Hartlib's memos freely admit, would be to distance these new projects from the bad reputation of England's old bridewells and houses of correction. According to one document, the workhouses would help "to reliefe poor widdowes & Fatherles Childeren which are unwilling to goe to Bridewell to worke Least they should be mocked & called Bridewell birds, but if their were workehouses havinge schooles in them to teach boyes & girls to write & reade & also to teach them some handy trades whereby they may be able to get their liveings . . . to such houses many sufficient people will send there Children to be taught these things, but to a bridwell they will not."[51] Another paper explicitly advocated for establishing "4 howses of Correction," or rather "*some other*

name given to it, for that is odious to a free People and implyeinge a servility."[52] Monikers suggested included "Londons Nurcery," "Magizin of Charity," and "store howse," but eventually "workhouse" was settled on.[53] "Public welfare was acquiring new conceptual clothes," Slack comments, as seventeenth-century reformers described their projects "in terms of felicity and improvement—instead of, or rather as well as—in its older guises of correction, restoration."[54] One Hartlib memo put it boldly: "This design is but a new mouldinge" of old laws and institutions.[55] Other pamphlets referred interchangeably to "houses of correction, or work-houses," and to their supposedly new projects as "houses of Instruction, or Correction."[56]

The Work of Language

No wonder that the resulting institutions have sometimes seemed indistinct from those that had come before, both to early modern Londoners and to skeptical scholars.[57] What Hartlib and his Circle had in mind was larger than a revival for the houses of correction, however. There were more experimental and even eccentric aspects to these plans as well.[58] These aspects included a vision of the workhouses as instruments for the dissemination of information and an expanding literacy that were transforming England's burgeoning public sphere in the 1640s.[59] In 1647, in describing his ideas for their "Literary-work-houses, where Children may be taught as well to doe something towards their living, as to Read and Write," Petty first posited an ambitious project to compile the textbooks for such an institution's curriculum.[60] The scattered condition of England's arts and sciences appeared to Petty to be comparable with the physical strife of the civil wars: "Wits and endevours" were "like a field where a battle hath beene lately fought, where we may see many legs, and armes, and eyes lying here and there, which for want of a union and a soule to quicken and enliven them, are good for nothing but to feed Ravens; and infect the aire. . . . So we see many Wittes and Ingenuities lying scattered up and downe the world."[61] Milton, in his defense of unlicensed printing in 1644, had similarly described a fallen epistemology wherein "the virgin Truth" had been hewn "into a thousand peeces, and scatter'd," and "the sad friends of Truth" ought to be enfranchised to "go up and down gathering up limb by limb" "the mangl'd body" in advance of eschatological revelation.[62] For Petty the disorganized if not indeed dismembered state of England's information was impeding the technological progress that might still be possible in the fallen world. Work was being repeated and time was being lost

in producing knowledge already established elsewhere. Means were needed "to finde out such Arts as are yet undiscovered . . . to learne what is already known, by more compendious and facile wayes, and to apply it to more."[63]

Reading would be the means. A first step toward these practical schools would be the universal books needed in classrooms: "There must be appointed able Readers" to sift and collect out of all books the "Reall or Experimentall Learning," as if a body of Truth worth reorganizing and preserving.[64] "Every Book must be so read by two several Persons apart, to prevent mistakes and failings," Petty writes, noting that the resulting encyclopedic volumes would need to be indexed in multiple ways to improve their use and accessibility.[65] A "Remonstrance of the feasibility" of Petty's designs recorded doubts about the "vast summes" needed to put such plans into action, but noted that the "winnowing and sifting" of universal information could be carried out by "3. or 4. able Gatherers for a yeare or two."[66]

The undertaking Petty imagined was extensive. "The Compiler must be content to devote his whole life to this employment," Petty writes, "one who . . . hath the fire of Industry and the Alembick of a Curious and rationall head, to extract the Quintescence of whatsoever hee seeth."[67] Milton had even more poetically described England's reading and writing as a workshop for the production of knowledge, wherein London's citizens were "wise and faithfull laborers, to make a knowing people": "Behold now this vast City . . . the shop of warre hath not there more anvils and hammers waking, to fashion out the plates and instruments of armed Justice in defence of beleauger'd Truth, then there be pens and heads there, sitting by their studious lamps, musing, searching, revolving new notions and ideas wherewith to present . . . the approaching Reformation: others as fast reading, trying all things, assenting to the force of reason and convincement."[68] Petty's pamphlet shares with *Areopagitica* this intensely physical sense of literate activity. Milton describes the "labour of book-writing" in which an author is "labouring the hardest labour in the deep mines of knowledge."[69] In fact, reading these texts side by side, it sometimes seems as if Petty in 1647 were prying Milton's metaphors loose from their deliberative contexts in 1644 and turning the same sentiments toward more specific institutional schemes. Where Milton imagined rational minds gathering knowledge to reconstitute the body of Truth, Petty more specifically describes his compilers, their reading practices, and the sorts of indexes they should create. Where Milton imagined readers and writers like workers in a blacksmith or armorer's shop, hammering out weapons of justice and shields against unreason, Petty describes his literary workhouses, their empirical experiments, and the actual tools that would be manufactured there.

In their writings to Hartlib, Petty and Milton were closely aligned above all in describing a new curriculum that would teach literacy through physical, practical, and vocational experience, rather than through linguistic abstraction alone. Petty imagined not only "literary-worke-houses" where children would be educated, but institutions where reading would be the work—if not explicitly spaces where his compilers could be found searching out useful information from their texts, certainly establishments where children would "be taught to Read by much more compendious meanes then are in common use."[70] Instead of the aridity of grammar or Latin, reading and writing in English were to be paired more immediately with experience of "Sensible Objects and Actions, whether they be Naturall or Artificiall."[71] Petty envisioned the labor of the workhouse along with the physical experiments "which the Educators must upon all occasions expound" as going hand in hand with literacy: "since few children have need of reading before they know, or can be acquainted with the Things they read of, or of writing, before their thoughts are worth the recording, or they are able to put them into any forme."[72] In *Of Education*, Milton attests to this same belief that early modern language learning has put the horse before the cart, and sets out a strikingly similar curricular reform in which foreign languages and written compositions would be delayed until students have first gained "the substance of good things, and Arts in due order, which would bring the whole language quickly into their power."[73] Petty meanwhile argues that by learning crafts, trades, and "gentile Manufactures" early on, students would naturally acquire the vocabularies and facilities needed for language learning; he encourages "Making Mathematicall Instruments, Dialls, and how to use them in Astronimicall Observations" alongside "Botanicks and Gardening," alongside "Confectioners, Perfumers or Diers Arts" and many, many others: The widest array of highly technical skills were envisaged for his *ergastula literaria*.[74]

From Imagination to Administration

Of all Petty's ideas, the workhouses seemed the most attainable in a skeptical memo included in Hartlib's papers: "As for Ergastula Literaria," the remonstrance noted, "a Corporation lately ordained for the provision of the poore are going in hand to establish them."[75] This group "lately ordained" was London's new Corporation for the Poor.[76] Established by Parliament in 1649, the Corporation was a significant undertaking, meant to make these utopian ideas into reality by way of a Common Council of aldermen and freemen whose size rivaled the administration

of Bridewell and the other four hospitals combined.[77] The Corporation then followed in the footsteps of Bridewell and the royal hospitals in seeking out properties belonging to the Crown "for rehabilitation," beginning with Heiden House, in the Minories on the east side of the city, and the Royal Wardrobe building, close to Blackfriars and Bridewell in the west.[78] The Wardrobe had stored ceremonial robes, hangings for occasions of state, arms and armor, and other movables of the Royal household; its transformation into a workhouse where poor children beat hemp, spun flax, and learned to read was a startling one, echoing the conversion of Bridewell Palace into the house of correction in the century prior. Other locations for renovation were discussed in Hartlib's memos, including London's theaters: "Play houses [and] Sequestered Houses wh[i]ch yield not much profit to the State may bee considered off as fit for such purposses," the projectors speculated.[79] With the public theaters closed, these sites of so-called idleness would have made a symbolic coup for the Corporation.

But while the Corporation for the Poor discussed targeting theaters for conversion, literacy remained a vaunted part of the workhouses' mission. Once in possession of their two locations in 1650, the Corporation promoted a broadside advertising its "Worke-houses" to the parishes as repositories for their poor and orphaned children, "where they shall have meanes to learn as well to read and write, as to be instructed in such manufacturies as they shalbe capable of."[80] The curriculum published by Hartlib in that same year announced that reading would take up two hours in the day, one in the morning and one in the afternoon.[81] Corporation materials corroborated this claim: "They shal have two houres in every day allowed them to learn to read and write, with one houre at noon for their repast, and the rest of the day, from seven or eight of the clock in the morning, till five of six at night, to be spent in getting knowledge of how to work in some manufactury that may be usefull to this Common-wealth."[82] Crafts and labors undertaken in the surrounding hours were meant to be productive for the commonwealth and to add to the student worker's literacy in the world itself, before the world of language. In this way innate curiosity would keep pace with acquired learning, as Milton had been advocating.

Because internal archives have been lost, likely destroyed at the Restoration, it remains difficult to ascertain with any certainty what transpired in the fledgling workhouses at Heiden House or the Wardrobe during their relatively brief existence between 1650 and 1660.[83] How charitable or how cruel were their practices? How well run or how quickly rundown did they become? The "Work-house called the *Wardrobe*" seems to have gotten off to a better start than did the house in the Minories, according to a petition by one of its original

administrators.[84] By 1655 the Corporation could claim that its two workhouses "for some years together" had employed "about one thousand Poor at Work" in addition to the children being educated "in Learning and Arts."[85] One newsbook reported that some eighty children were enrolled in the Wardrobe workhouse in 1655, in their uniforms of orange coats and green caps.[86] (The organization itself described keeping "a badg[e] of the Corporation upon their sleeves" for all their workers.[87]) In April 1658 workhouse administrators published a defensive broadside detailing the finances and the numbers of children "imployed and releieved at the *Wardrobe* and *Mynores* houses," which claimed a hundred thirty-five student workers were on hand; in the past year, twenty-three had graduated to apprenticeships, four had been "buried," and thirty taken in. The publication also claimed the two establishments were £1064.12.4 in the red and encouraged Londoners to donate to their cause.[88] At the end of these experiments Samuel Pepys recorded in his diary how "some poor children in tawny clothes" who "have been maintained there [in the Wardrobe workhouse] some eleven years" posed a political hiccup for the king, who wanted the property back after the Restoration Parliament declined to reenact the ordinances of the Corporation.[89] In June 1660 the children were ordered to be taken in by Christ's Hospital.

Although these Interregnum workhouse projects were short-lived and limited in scale, at least in comparison to Bridewell or the hospitals, whose activities were also maintained during this period, the designs promoted by Hartlib and the London Corporation for the Poor during the 1640s and '50s nevertheless provide important information about their institutional aims. For both social and intellectual history, these projects offer a missing link between Tudor and Stuart houses of correction and the workhouse schemes that would continue, not under the Corporation for the Poor but in more dispersed forms during the 1660s and '70s—when workhouses were established in Exeter, Bristol, Norwich, Dorchester, Hull, and Clerkenwell—before reemerging on a much larger and longer-lasting scale when a renewed Corporation was established in the 1690s.[90]

The fledgling workhouses imagined by Hartlib's Circle and organized by their Corporation for the Poor can also be understood as a redoubling of long-standing efforts to link England's institutions of work discipline to another of evangelical Protestantism's most important priorities: increased access to vernacular literacy, and to the wider kinds of publications and information that Puritans especially believed would help them achieve not only a more immediate Reformation but a generational shift in the godly discipline of the English people. Like the houses of correction and hospitals relaunched by Edwardian reformers in the 1550s, the Hartlibian workhouses balanced conservative short-term goals

with radical long-term ones: to bolster social order in the present, in the name of a new and more godly regime, while inculcating wider literacy and a more radical, more individual kind of discipline and Christian fortitude for the future. Through these institutions, which synthesized carceral models with the justificatory power of education, Milton's generation of ever-more independent Protestants were attempting to equip their nation's subjects and infrastructure for the universal reformation still to come.

Samson Agonistes and Ellwood in "the Work-Houses"

But if the workhouse was in many ways precisely the sort of social institution Milton and his cohort would be expected to promote, why does Milton go out of his way twenty years later in *Samson Agonistes* to present Samson's cruel prison as a "common workhouse," and as the instrument of a corrupt and heathen society that must be utterly destroyed?[91] *Samson Agonistes* incorporates its workhouse imagery as a trial along the way to spiritual regeneration, but in so doing, Samson's labors are derided, not as an education but as a directionless slavery to be endured, eventually overturned, and—although it is tragic—coldly revenged.[92] "Our slave, / Our captive, at the public mill our drudge," the Officer calls Samson, his repetitions reinforcing the enduringly static nature of Samson's character, despite his constant activity.[93] Samson blames his own "servile mind / Rewarded well with servile punishment" in a proportionate but nearly tautological phrase.[94] "Samson rehearses his missteps" as he "blindly . . . walks in circles about the mill of the Philistines," Hoxby comments.[95] This is no education or reeducation. But if Samson's grinding in the mill was penal drudgery rather than educational training, it was nevertheless also akin to the kind of labor promoted as correctional at Bridewell, where grinding grain in the courtyard was a common task.

In *Samson Agonistes*, the protagonist must resist that labor, not internalize it as a habit or a skill. "Patience is more oft the exercise / Of saints, the trial of their fortitude, / Making them each his own deliverer," the Chorus advises Samson.[96] Samson must counter his physical disciplining with psychological resistance: "Laboring thy mind / More than the working day thy hands."[97] Yet what Samson works to refute is the correctional precept that physical employment can improve spiritual and social behavior or serve an educational purpose. "I thought / Gyves and the mill had tamed thee," Harapha notes, finding Samson still bristling with animosity.[98] Instead, Samson scoffs at the possibility of Philistine work-discipline:

> Can they think me so broken, so debased
> With corporal servitude, that my mind ever
> Will condescend to such absurd commands?[99]

When Samson does get his revenge, the poem is ironically straightforward: "Samson hath quit himself / Like Samson," his father tell us, "and heroicly hath finished / A life heroic."[100] The repetitions and tautologies reinforce the idea that Milton's version of Samson's character remains a stable one, and obliquely recall aspects of the biblical backstory Milton's poem largely represses, in which Samson's downfall is the result of not one ill-advised marriage but two, and this final massacre is only the most recent in a long history of surprising and disproportionate acts of violence (Judges 15:3–5, for example). Philistine, heathen, penal "nurture" is not about to change Samson's God-given nature—no matter how uneasy readers might be with that nature or its consequences. All in all, both Samson's incorrigibility and Milton's final poem read like repudiations, perhaps not necessarily repudiations of *self*-correction with its possibilities for resistance, but certainly repudiations of the semi-carceral models such as the workhouses and the fully carceral ones such as the houses of correction, both of which had been described as institutionalizing and literalizing a similar disciplinary agenda. Why should this be?

First, the power to decide who and what needed correcting in those institutions had recently changed hands. In the early 1660s the Anglican regime pointedly turned houses of correction and workhouses against nonconformists who had advocated such organizations in the Interregnum. The 1664 Conventicles Act banned independent religious meetings of five of more under threat of imprisonment for up to three months in "the Gaole, or House of Correction."[101] The penalty could be mitigated by payment of £5 bail, to be routed to local poor relief, perhaps as a recognition that the prisons now being used to penalize or even retrain religious offenders had originally been intended to serve a purpose for social welfare. On a second offense, the penalty doubled. Any "convict of such second offence shall incurr the penalty of Imprisonment in the Gaole or House of Correction for any time not exceeding six Monethes without Baile or Mainprize unlesse such Offender shall pay downe to the said Justices or Cheife Magistrate such summe of money not exceeding Ten pounds," again to be routed to poor relief efforts.[102] Third-time offenders were to suffer indefinite confinement in the "Gaole or House of Correction" until the offender could be "transported beyond the Seas."[103] The premise of rehabilitation or reintegration that

differentiated the houses of correction from common gaols was rendered even less meaningful than usual, and not only because the law treated the institutions as interchangeable. If authorities really wanted to correct nonconformists or prevent them from meeting in groups of five or more, they might have found better strategies than grouping them all together in confinement.

To stop England's prisons from becoming Quaker meeting houses, fees were threatened against any prison masters who allowed religious services to take place within their walls. If any keeper permitted their charges to join "in the exercise of Religion differing from the Rites of the Church of England then every such Keeper of a Goale or House of Correction shall for every such Offence forfeit the summe of Tenn pounds."[104] The law singled out Quakers among other sects with these penalties: "And in regard a certaine Sect called Quakers and other Sectaryes are found not onely to offend in the matters provided against by this Act but alsoe to obstruct the proceeding of Justice by their obstinate refusall to take Oathes lawfully tendred unto them in the ordinary course of Law."[105]

The cruelty and the incoherence of this crackdown was brought home to Milton immediately when his student Thomas Ellwood found himself thrown in Bridewell. Milton's relation with Ellwood was coterminous with the years when *Samson Agonistes* is thought to have been composed, between 1662 and 1665.[106] "Having wholly lost his Sight," Milton "kept always a Man to read to him . . . whom, in Kindness, he took to Improve in his Learning," Ellwood wrote in his autobiography, first published in 1714; Ellwood would "read to [Milton] what Books he should appoint me; which was all the Favor I desired."[107] In the early spring of 1662 Ellwood had begun to visit Milton "every Day in the Afternoon (except on the first Days of the Week)," and, "sitting by him in his Dining-Room," would "read to him such Books in the *Latin Tongue*, as he pleased to hear me read."[108] Milton corrected Ellwood's pronunciation in Latin, teaching him "how to found the Vowels" after the Continental rather than English manner, and soon they were making progress.[109] Milton was a generous teacher, in Ellwood's description ("He . . . gave me not only all the Encouragement, but all the Help he could"), and possessed of an unusually strong or "curious Ear."[110] Milton could tell "by my Tone when I understood what I read and when I did not: and accordingly would stop me, Examine me, and open the most difficult Passages to me," Ellwood reports.[111]

Ellwood's improving "exercise" under Milton's correction was reading. "Thus went I on, for about Six Weeks time, reading to him in the Afternoons, and Exercising my self, with my own Books, in my Chamber in the Forenoons,"

Ellwood writes.[112] Over the weeks, Ellwood became "sensible of an Improvement," and the poet seems to have grown fond of the young man: "I was very kindly received by my Master, who had conceived so good an Opinion of me, that my Conversation (I found) was acceptable to him . . . and into our old Method of Study we fell again, I Reading to him, and he Explaining to me, as Occasion required. But, as if Learning had been a forbidden Fruit to me, scarce was I well settled in my Work before I met with another Diversion, which turned me quite out of my Work."[113] Ellwood's balanced periods ("I Reading to him, and he Explaining to me") double down on "work" as a description for his self-improving reading.[114] Ellwood's simile, "as if Learning had been a forbidden Fruit to me," is a common one, but must also allude to Milton's soon-to-be famous poem.[115]

Although Ellwood's circumstances soon drastically changed, the literary education he had undertaken with Milton would prove an unexpected resource. The interruption that turned Ellwood from his true "work" was the onslaught of the Conventicles Act. After August 24, 1662, a third of London's ministers and clergy were forced from their livings as part of the so-called Great Ejection. Historians estimate that nearly a hundred thousand nonconformists may have left London.[116] On August 26 Ellwood was caught up in this wave, found by a "Party of Soldiers" at a Quaker meeting in Aldergate: "He that Commanded the Party, gave us finally a general Charge to come out of the Room. But we, who came thither at God's Requirings, to Worship Him (Like that good Man of Old, who said, *We ought to obey God, rather than Men.* Acts 5.29) stirred not; but kept our Places. Whereupon he sent some of his Soldiers among us, with Command to Drag, or Drive us out; which they did, roughly enough."[117] Ellwood's rallying point from the Book of Acts—"*obey God, rather than Men*"—is one key to understanding *Samson Agonistes*.[118] Achinstein comments: "Samson strives against a regime that was compelling him to submit to its command to perform obedience, and he seeks to retain not only his dignity, but his obligations to his people and his God."[119] Ellwood's aims were the same. As his coreligionists were being rounded up at pike-point, Ellwood noticed that the Friends' calm refusal was having an effect on the conscripted soldiers: "In this Work none seemed so eager and active, as their Leader, Major *Rosewell*. Which observing, stept boldly to him, as he was standing by me; and asked him, If he intended *Massacre:* for of that, in those times, there was a great Apprehension and talk."[120] The Quaker's fear of mass murder reveals the uncertainty of the moment and may offer further contextual insight into the intensities of *Samson Agonistes*. But the soldier took

Ellwood's question for impertinence: "*Seeing you are so busie, you shall be the first that shall go into Bridewell*."[121]

Ellwood's Poetry from the House of Correction

Ellwood presents his antagonist as taking knowing pleasure in twisting the purposes of London's original house of correction, with its Protestant and humanist plans to control vagrancy and so-called idleness in the Commonwealth.[122] "*Seeing you are so busie*," Ellwood and his fellow Quakers would be given ample opportunity to demonstrate their work ethic, albeit in the shadow of Bridewell's "lusty Whipping-Post."[123] But Ellwood also describes in detail his astonishment at finding his prison to be a palimpsest of its prior uses: the former palace of Henry VIII, especially the room that had been the King's dining room ("as the people in the House reported"), with its great "Breadth" and "very large Bay-Windows."[124] The windows proved cold, and Ellwood's nights were spent sleepless on the stone floor, or pacing circles in the large room: "We kept walking to keep us warm," Ellwood writes, not unlike Samson's trudging at the mill, or Bridewell's prisoners grinding away by day; Ellwood claims his chamber was "*Threescore Foot*," for "I lived long enough in it to have time to measure it."[125] Quoting the Book of Kings (1 Kings 7:21), Ellwood chooses a phrase for his majestic cell that at first seems generic: "Here was my *Nil ultra*: and here I found I might set up my Pillar."[126] As with the proleptic reference to the forbidden fruit, or the parenthetical comparison to the Apostles in the Book of Acts, Ellwood's scriptural analogs add metaphorical but also temporal texture to his memoirs, as if these literary and biblical allusions were layered in later; it is not for some pages until a reader realizes that the common metaphorical pillar has another resonance. First, the gift of a hammock from a fellow prisoner makes a great improvement in Ellwood's sleepless nights in Bridewell, and then, when his group of Friends were later transferred briefly to Newgate, the hammock and a real pillar become crucial, for "we all Lodged in one Room, which was large and round, having in the Middle of it a great Pillar of Oaken Timber, which bore up the Chappel that is over it."[127] Ellwood goes on to describe in some detail the remarkable sleeping arrangements they devised:

> To this Pillar we fastned our Hammacks at the one End, and to the opposite Wall on the other End, quite round the Room, and in three

> Degrees, or three Stories high, one over the other: so that they who lay in the Upper and the Middle Row of Hammacks, were obliged to go to Bed first, because they were to Climb up to the Higher, by getting into the Lower. And under the Lower Rank of Hammacks, by the Wall-sides were laid Beds upon the Floor; in which the Sick, and such weak Persons as could not get into the Hammacks, lay. And indeed, though the Room was large, and pretty airy: yet the Breath and Steam that came from so many Bodies, of different Ages, Conditions and Constitutions, pack't up so close together, was enough to cause Sickness amongst us; and I believe did so. For there were many Sick; and some very weak: though we were not long there, yet in that time one of our Fellow Prisoners, who lay in one of those Pallet-Beds, died.[128]

Ellwood's image of the Quakers' three stories of hammocks, all suspended in the round room, all radiating from the "great Pillar . . . which bore up the Chappel that is over it," sparks the imagination even now, as such a story might have done for the author of *Samson Agonistes*.[129] The anecdote also neatly gives the lie to the rhetoric of rehabilitation within detention in the early modern period: Every sentence of imprisonment in this era could be close to a death sentence, considering the prevalence of disease in spaces of confinement, especially in plague years. The death of the Quaker that Ellwood mentions here caused a coroner's inquest, however, and the conditions in the circular hammock chamber were considered shocking.[130] The Friends were then sent back to Bridewell, a comparatively "welcome" change.[131]

Back at the house of correction, in what Ellwood calls "the *Work-Houses*," Ellwood describes the quietist accommodation that arose between the Quakers and their labors.[132] Like Samson refusing to give up his tasks, Ellwood and his group proudly set their "selves to Work," but they, too, began to quietly turn the house of correction toward their own ends, first using their blocks as worktables for sewing waistcoats rather than the more degrading labor of beating hemp, and ultimately choosing to see their sentence as a spiritual trial of their own volition: "We were not shut up as before, but had the Liberty of the Court to walk in. . . . And indeed, we might easily have gone quite away (if we would, there being a Passage through the Court into the Street) but we were true and Steady Prisoners; and looked upon this Liberty, arising from their Confidence in us, to be a kind of *Paroll* upon us; so that both Conscience and Honour stood now engaged for our true Imprisonment."[133] The Quakers had been moved from the gated Dining Room to the more open spaces of the lower courts, "fitted up for *Work-Houses*,

and accordingly furnished with very great Blocks, for Beating Hemp upon, and a lusty Whipping-Post."[134] But even though the gates of the "Work-House" were left open, Ellwood still continued in his labors: "We might easily have gone quite away (if we would, there being a Passage through the Court into the Street) but we were true and Steady Prisoners . . . so that both Conscience and Honour stood now engaged for our true Imprisonment," Ellwood explains.[135] This radical obedience internalizes and improves upon the house of correction's haphazard discipline, and seems to anticipate the dynamic described by Foucault, in which even the most closely held concepts of self, such as "Conscience" or the soul, would become further means of subject formation.[136] If the "true Imprisonment" is the inner one between Ellwood and his "Conscience," where in this life would freedom be located? But Ellwood describes his consent as resistance, a way of denying the earthly institution of its power over at least one part of him: his will.

Poetry seems to have helped Ellwood see his obedience as resistance in this paradoxical way. "By the Indulgence of our Keeper, whose Heart God disposed to Favour us," Ellwood was allowed to sneak back into the old Dining Room when he "had something on my Mind to write."[137] "My Spirit was more than ordinarily Exercised," he wrote, both by the sharply felt injustice of his persecution and his enduring gratitude to God.[138] "*Why should my Modest* MUSE *forbidden be / To speak of that which but too many see*," Ellwood's verses begin, "*And how indeed can it expected be, / That she should hold her Tongue, and daily see / Those* wicked *and* enormous Crimes *committed*."[139] These offenses were the improvisation of "*Unheard* of, *new-invented Crimes*" as well as the corruption and vices of Restoration culture.[140]

> What Ink is black enough to write ! What Pen
> Fit to delineate such Beasts; not Men !
> Words are too shallow to express the *Rage*,
> The *Fury, Madness* of this *Frantick AGE*.
> Numbers fall short to reckon up the *Crimes*,
> Which are the *Recreations* of these Times.[141]

Ellwood's poetry is most animated in its extended, scabrous description of the Restoration as a flood from Hell:

> 'Twas wonderful to see in what a Trice,
> This Zealous Nation was o'er-run with *Vice*.
> As when the boyling Gulf, with furious Gales

Puff't up, o'erflows its Banks, and drowns the Vales;
And when again it Ebbs, it leaves (we find)
A loathsom Scum, and noisom Stink behind.[142]

Restoration rakes are described as "The *Devil's Slaves*, by him bor'd thro' the Ear," or branded for service to Satan.[143] (Ear-boring and criminal branding remained a reality debated in English penal codes.[144]) God, described as an executioner, will have his vengeance inevitably, Ellwood's poetry prophecies: "And yet in vain they strive t'escape the Stroke / Of that just God whom boldly they Provoke."[145] Ellwood repeatedly imagines heavenly retribution overturning the iniquities of earthly injustice:

Justice doth of the just Judge intreat,
That speedy Vengeance he will take on all,
Who persecute his *Saints*, and them Enthral . . .
And He hath promised (who never fails
In the Performance) that he will arise,
And put a Period on their Cruelties:
And that he will, with more than winged Speed,
Send Comfort to his poor afflicted Seed;
Which under *Pharaoh's heavy Yoke* hath groan'd,
And in *Captivity* it self bemoan'd.[146]

Ellwood's language of slavery and punishment moves from the relatively technical and contemporaneous—ear-boring for branding and the executioner's stroke—to Old Testament standbys: the Saints enthralled in captivity under a "*heavy Yoke*."[147] Although the Samson story is not one of Ellwood's explicit references, the tropes are the same. The metaphorical language of sight is also so ubiquitous in Ellwood's poem as to nearly suggest something more than the usual clichés: "Who to the Eye gave Sight? what shall not he / The Cruel Sufferings of his People see?"[148] Perhaps most powerful is the way Ellwood invokes traditions of written resistance—old as the penitential psalms, recent as the republican and nonconformist prison writings of the Interregnum and afterward—as he metaphorizes the apocalyptic vengeance as a linguistic one: God will "put a Period on their Cruelties."[149]

Ellwood's verses from "*Bridewell, London: 1662*" repeatedly show how metaphorical transcoding might be used for both political and personal ends, but also how the topos of correction functions to point out and name that particular,

subversive potential within metaphorical thought.[150] Ellwood compares restoration culture to a newly opened "*Pandora*'s Box," as if "from thence":

> Had flutter'd out this raging Pestilence:
> Which since, the common Body hath o'erspread
> With such a Lep'rous Scab from Foot to Head.[151]

Ellwood's metaphors mirror the instability he decries, their connotations shape-shifting from harmless fluttering to a raging pestilence spreading over the body of the nation like a lepper's scabs: "Each man, like *Proteus* his Shape doth change, / To whatever seemeth new or strange."[152] Restoration fashion, in particular, provokes Ellwood's ire: "What pains do Men and Women take, alas! / To make themselves for arrand *Bedlams* pass!"[153] Ellwood criticizes the new trends as a transvaluation of motley or the "*Fool's py'd Coat*": "More *Colours* in one Wastcoat now they wear, / Than in one Rain-bow ever did appear."[154] But his barb for "arrand *Bedlams*" is manifold.[155] "Arrand" is an obsolete variant of errant or arrant: "wandering, itinerant, vagrant" extended to simply "notorious, manifest, downright."[156] The decadence of the Restoration is driving men and women to dress themselves like the patients and prisoners of Bedlam, Ellwood suggests, but his line also contains a lexical pun on Bedlam and its "beldams": "an aged woman, a matron of advanced years, in the 16th century used in addressing nurses."[157] The false etymology or macaronic pun within "beldam"—not from the French, *belle dame* or fair lady, but from English: bel [elder] and dam [woman or mother], such as paired with "belsire" or grandfather—mimics Bedlam's own, erring descent from Bethlehem to Bethlem into the abject Bedlam, Bridewell's sister.[158] The "arrand" rather than "arrant" or "errant" wordplay suggests the semantic possibilities of corruption inherent in just the slip of a single pair of letters.

Ellwood's verses continually destabilize the agency of corruption and correction in the Commonwealth. At first decrying those subjects who are "*Lovers* of Evil: *Haters* of all Good" and thus merely "the *Devil's Slaves*," deprived of agency, Ellwood nevertheless rues their persecution of the righteous, or "*God's Ambassadors*, whom he hath sent / To warn them of their Sins, and cry, *Repent*."[159] These "*Devil's Slaves*" are persecuting the innocent, yet Ellwood's metaphorical verbs transfer the traditional actions of those found in Bridewell instead to the agency of their persecutors: "These grind the Poor; The Needy these Oppress; / Widows devour; Tread on the Fatherless."[160] The poor who usually grind at the mill or their labors are instead ground upon by the Devil's own slaves. Ellwood's lines end with an anticipatory warning that God's "long-provoked Hand / is

stretched out, in Judgment, o'er this Land."[161] But a postscript in verse immediately follows:

> Since what precedes was written, I have found
> An Accusation form'd, but without Ground,
> Against me; That with *uncontrouled Pen*,
> *I too severely lash the Faults of Men*.[162]

Ellwood's earlier description of the actual practices of whipping at Bridewell stood in harrowing contrast to those euphemisms: "The manner of Whipping there is, To strip the Party to the Skin, from the Waste upwards; and having fastned him to the Whipping-Post, (so that he can neither resist, nor shun the Strokes) to lash the naked Body, with long, but slender Twigs of Holly, which will bend almost like Thongs, and lap round the Body: and these having little Knots upon them, tear the Skin and Flesh, and give extream Pain."[163] Given this description, Ellwood's rejoinder to the "Accusation form'd" that he had "*too severely lash[ed] the Faults of Men*" with his "*uncontrouled Pen*" seems bitterly ironic.[164] "This drew me on to add another Line, / To shew them that the Fault's their own, not mine," Ellwood continues: "No Crime can justly to my charge be laid: / Unless it be a Crime, *That truth be said*."[165]

Ellwood's memoirs remain the most detailed and sustained account written from the perspective of anyone punished in Bridewell; for centuries this document has been used to reconstruct what might have happened there, both in its "*Work-Houses*" and its whipping chamber.[166] In Ellwood's Bridewell poetry, printed and set within his narrative autobiography, the common metaphor of correcting ethical faults with the force of a writer's pen takes on one different cast, and then another, given these historical ironies. "My undaunted Pen" (no longer "uncontrouled") scorns those who "ill requite / My signal Love, with Enmity and Spight," Ellwood writes.[167] And yet, as his verses turn toward their conclusion and his faith in God's ultimate justice, Ellwood's figurative language returns the reader to his scene of earthly, unjust constraint: "Thy matchless Love constrains my Life, / Thy Life constrains my Love," Ellwood paradoxically sings in his concluding hymn.[168] Ellwood concludes with an invocation from his soul to God that doubles as a request from speaker to reader: His soul itself "puts her Trust in thee . . . Ensnar'd again to be," and with that the poem signs off: "*Bridewell, London: 1662*," adding, "In this sort did I spend some leisure Had during my Confinement in *Bridewell*."[169] In part because the literary elements in Ellwood's

prose and their proleptic quality seem to indicate an editorial mediation or self-mediation after the fact, we should perhaps be circumspect. These may well have been the poems from manuscript, saved by Ellwood in his own notes for fifty-four years, finally printed in his memoirs at the end of his life. The poems could also have been composed later, or retrofitted to the trend of prison writing—whose generic conventions *Samson Agonistes* is also closely concerned with, as Murray has shown.[170] Historians of Bridewell and Milton's biographers alike have often chosen to repeat Ellwood's anecdotes, however. Ellwood's reports may be self-aggrandizing and self-consciously literary, but they also appear to contain important information and enduring truths. As Ellwood himself claimed, "No Crime can justly to my charge be laid: / Unless it be a Crime, *That truth be said*."[171]

Correcting *Samson*

Another unusual way to perceive the reality of Ellwood's imaginative resilience has come down to us in *Samson Agonistes*. Where Ellwood psychologically resisted his persecution in Bridewell's "Work-Houses" by writing poetry, *Samson Agonistes* depicts its hero inwardly resisting the outer persecution of a godless society in their "common workhouse," which Milton amplifies to consume the closet drama's entire circumstantial setting.[172] Where Ellwood described the haunting image of the Quakers in the "large and round" room of Newgate Prison, lying three layers high in their web of hammocks, like spokes all radiating from "a great Pillar of Oaken Timber, which bore up the Chappel," Milton's poem depicts Samson pulling down "those two massie Pillars / That to the arched roof gave main support."[173] Ellwood sewed waistcoats and wrote poetry from prison to "exercise" his "Spirit," and to decry the corruptions and abuses of power that afflicted his Friends in London and the English people generally—and he survived, without harming anyone, without sacrificing his integrity or surrendering the moral high ground.[174] For Samson, the success of his inner resistance results in a disproportionate act of violence, but *Samson*, the poem—the writing or the reading of the poem—can be recuperated for the spirit, and society, as a form of imaginative resistance that results in no such physical harm. *Samson Agonistes*—and this may have been the poem's most clever transvaluation—made its readers into correctors, while describing the coercive institutions of the Philistines, and the Philistines themselves, as corruptions to be expurgated. But all this activity occurs on the level of language, in the speculative realm where type and pen and

ink become political communication and devotional poetry: "to put a period" on persecution metaphorically, as Ellwood himself had imagined.[175]

This argument is materialized in the physical apparatus of the first edition in 1671, which encouraged readers to believe not only that *Samson Agonistes* required correction but that the poem was making a statement about the legitimacy and corruption of certain forms of punishment and social engineering. At the poem's dramatic finale, *Samson Agonistes*'s original readers would have faced themselves as the text's rationalizers even more explicitly than in any Miltonic work to date, asking how to understand the final act of violence, while tasked with administering the material changes listed on the final pages. These instructions contained both a list of errata and a passage labeled *Omissa*, nine continuous lines plus one stand-alone line ostensibly left out by a printer's error, although scholars now believe the verses must have been added by Milton "strategically late to evade the licenser."[176] Stephen Dobranski maintains that the omission "could not have occurred through a compositor's mistake."[177] It certainly seems like no mistake. *Samson Agonistes* works without its missing lines; the poem makes sense syntactically with or without them—but the inclusion of the *Omissa*'s content reinforces the point that rectifying the text makes formally.

In the *Omissa* the chorus "envisages an even more dramatic victory" for Samson, Knoppers writes.[178] When the messenger arrives to relate what has transpired at the Temple, the *Omissa* offers a dilation, in which the Chorus and Samson's father speculate about the possibilities: Perhaps God has returned to the hero's side and miraculously "restor'd" not only his strength but his sight as well (*Omissa* italicized, this emphasis added):

Chor. Best keep together here, lest running thither
We unawares run into dangers mouth.
This evil on the Philistines is fall'n,
From whom could else a general cry be heard?
The sufferers then will scarce molest us here,
From other hands we need not much to fear.
What if his eyesight (for to Israel's God
Nothing is hard) by miracle restored,
He now be dealing dole among his foes,
And over heaps of slaughtered walk his way?
Man. That were a joy presumptuous to be thought.
Chor. Yet God hath wrought things as incredible
For his people of old; what hinders now?

Man. He can I know, but doubt to think he will;
Yet hope would fain subscribe, and tempts belief.
A little stay will bring some notice thither.
Chor. Of good or bad so great, of bad the sooner;
For evil news rides post, while good news baits.[179]

This is a particularly ingenious, Miltonic reversal of rhetorical *correctio* or correction, the figure by which a statement or an image is put forth and then called back, although it can never truly be canceled from the reader's or the hearer's mind. In this case rhetorical correctio is translated into material terms.[180] The height of Samson's victory is briefly aggrandized, flirted with, then rhetorically negated; while physically it would be the opposite action, the insertion of the lines or the flipping back of the pages, which reenacts the temporary fantasy. For a moment, instead of suicidal rage, readers are made to imagine Samson walking free "over heaps of slaughtered," which for Samson's father would be "a joy presumptuous to be thought."[181] But because it is only a correction—only the most minor *peripeteia* or reversal, not a major or tragic one—the poem's ultimate ambiguity is undisturbed.[182] By temporarily "restoring" both the text and Samson's sight in these lines, Milton makes the reader complicit with a dangerous political thought. "Just as the English people would have to cooperate in the revitalization of the Good Old Cause, Milton's readers' insertion of the *Omissa*" is a reversal that "culminates in Samson's glorious reflourishing," Dobranski writes: "the true Restoration has not yet occurred, the poem implies; it has been temporarily omitted," as if by the Act of Oblivion (1660).[183] In the space of the correction, Milton's lines also come closer to approximating Ellwood's apocalyptic vision than anywhere else in the poem: "All the Crosses which have yet befel thee / Are but an Earnest of that dreadful Day, / Wherein God will upon thy Head repay / Wrath, Fury, Vengeance and Destruction, / The just reward of Persecution."[184]

As a correction, however, Milton's passage is also the reversal of that reversal. Inserting the *Omissa* is an act of textual correction that stands in for a political expression that would have merited penal correction in England in 1671. But leaving the *Omissa* out only makes the lines even more glaringly present, standing alone at the back of the book as a self-contained statement demanding action from the reader, both textual—*correct the text by inserting these lines*—and subliminally political: *read this text; see again what you saw before; correct England's course with action.* Even by ever so briefly imagining Samson's sight has healed, Milton implants in his reader's mind an idea not of the monarchy restored but

of the reformation returning: "the slow-moving Reformation we labour under," as he wrote all those years earlier in *Areopagitica*.[185] Then again, depending on whether we read Samson as sovereign monarch or sovereign people, depending on whether we read the poem in conjunction with *Paradise Regain'd*, the missing lines retain more than plausible deniability. Perhaps for that reason this aspect of the material text has been left aside by the majority of modern scholars, editors, and readers—especially those who see *Samson Agonistes* as essentially a political tract by other means, ironically enough, for this most striking aspect of the poem's form is also its most explicitly political.

Whether conscious or not of the implications, many early readers responded eagerly to the text's demands. "The *Omissa* was taken seriously," Knoppers has found, estimating that one in six copies of the 1671 edition show readers marking the *Omissa*'s presence.[186] A copy of the 1671 edition held by Georgetown University marks the insertion of the lines with asterisks, for example.[187] Two manicules mark the insertion point in a copy held by the Huntington Library.[188] In other copies, marginal notes have been made by readers to alert themselves (or others) to the missing lines: "vid: pag: 102" or "see page 102. Omissa" in copies held at the Beinecke; "See the End of the book for what should Follow" in a copy at the University of Western Ontario.[189] In a copy held by the University of Illinois, asterisks emphasize the absence, along with a note: "vide the omissa at ye End" as well as a transcription of the stand-alone missing line: "Of good or bad so great, of bad the sooner."[190] A copy held by the University of Pennsylvania features a very carefully inscribed caret and "omissa" in what is likely an eighteenth-century hand.[191] Many readers also patiently inserted the changes suggested by the edition's errata list.[192] Knoppers has examined the particularly revealing case of an index created by one early reader. "Index entries on such topics as divine justice underscore that the erring nation—and the erring Samson—have brought upon themselves their own punishment," Knoppers notes.[193] An entry for "penitence see 35" directs the reader to Manoa's advice to Samson: "Be penitent and for they fault contrite, / But act not in thy own affliction."[194]

In its original form, *Samson Agonistes* ended not only by repudiating the corrupt labors Samson had been punished with in the "common workhouse," but also by loudly calling attention to or literalizing the more subtle, more rhetorical kind of correction built into Milton's earlier works, especially *Areopagitica* and *Paradise Lost*. If we read *Samson Agonistes* as a poem partly about the abuse of local institutional powers, as one of its original interlocutors, Ellwood, surely would have; and also as a poem demanding the hands-on work of textual

correction—as many of its earliest readers did—we can recover aspects of *Samson*'s formal, ethical, and spiritual efficacy that have since been obscured.

Correcting Revenge

Such a reading allows a different understanding of the poem's protagonist to emerge. Samson was driven to his final revenge by the experience he endures in the "common work-house."[195] Those circumstances on their own might explain, if not justify, Samson's act. Far from any correctional retraining, the Philistines not only blinded Samson but also locked him inside his head and worked him in a torturously repetitious manner, turning the mill, which drove him to further violence. The bitterness of Ellwood's poems from Bridewell might be taken as evidence for the plausibility of this interpretation. By increasing the biblical narrative's carceral imagery, Milton has embedded this coolly rationalist motive, a new feature that supports the analysis of the poem under the rubric of Aristotelian tragedy and adds depth to our understanding of Samson's action, although only to heighten by contrast what little we can know of his divine inspiration.[196] Through the "common" rather than literary workhouse and its painful labor, Milton has given Samson a secular motivation anyone can understand. In this way he also positions readers to intimate from the poem a powerful political statement. Socialization is not what results from institutionalized work discipline, at least in its corrupted and most corruptible forms, such as the house of correction or the workhouse, which Milton's own experience had likely taught him were more easily justified in the abstract and in the imagination than maintained or administered for just purposes in practice. Milton's poem seems to suggest that only more despair, more sin, more violence and self-violence—perhaps even a level of violence that verges between divinity and insanity—lies that way.

We might also gain more insight into what Milton, at this late moment in his career, thought of the correctional precepts about labor that undergirded institutions such as the house of correction, the workhouse, and even the idealized *ergastula literaria* once sketched by Petty or Hartlib—the notion that hard work is its own lesson and can deepen other kinds of discipline, spiritual as well as literary. *Samson Agonistes* instead makes Philistine labor look like a misguided enterprise that has unwittingly brought its defeat upon itself. While Samson's inner resistance is unchanged, the stubborn antihero who strains at the mill day after day does change or improve in some regards. He gets his exercise—not the

"Exercise" of the "Spirit" that Ellwood found in writing furious verses in Bridewell, but physical work that makes him paradoxically stronger.[197] The rousing motions may be spiritual ones sent from God, but their reality is doubled in a physical fact: Samson feels his "strength, again returning."[198] The Philistines cannot actually cripple, starve, or work Samson to death, if they intend to benefit from his heroic labor:

> Much more affliction than already felt
> They cannot well impose, nor I sustain;
> If they intend advantage of my labours
> The work of many hands, which earns my keeping
> With no small profit daily to my owners.[199]

Even when Manoa points out that Samson is only adding to his enemies' profit, still Samson refuses to leave: "Here rather let me drudge and earn my bread."[200] Like Ellwood and his fellow Quakers radically choosing to continue their labors at the behest of their own honor and consciences, Samson perversely demands to be "useful" and "serve" even if his use accrues to his oppressors, and he refuses to "sit idle" even when given the chance.[201] Through his stubbornness Samson improves physically, while spiritually he remains "incorrigible," dedicated to his own God, to his own ways of worshipping, and untouched by Philistine discipline. Finally, from his reversed circumstances, but also due to them, Samson becomes capable of displacing his own anagnorisis onto society, to the shock of the Philistines and even Milton's readers—a surprise all the more impressive given that the parameters of the biblical story are of course well known.

What results is a kind of reversal for Milton as well. We can read in *Samson Agonistes* an indictment of the disciplinary strategies widely embraced by multiple generations of English reformers, including Milton's own. The poem enacts instead a more imaginative, more literary labor of self-definition and resistance. If we consider how the insoluble problem of the poem's ending is redoubled in its own correction, that insistence on ethical work—in this case the work of reading, rereading, writing, or even rewriting the poem's lines—reaches the depth of speculative contemplation one expects not from a social program but from art. The poem's tragic end is immediately corrected by the *Omissa*, only to create an ironically more violent, but less tragic, conclusion. But by requiring readers to choose what they administer, while also forcing us to hold both in mind, Milton comes closest to recapturing what makes his writings, tracts, pamphlets, poems, double-jointed sentences and enjambments, especially in

Areopagitica and *Paradise Lost*, so artful. He forces his readers to choose. That choice creates a sight of freedom, even from obedience; it creates a way to obey God rather than men. But above all that choice positions the reader to feel these decisions about just and unjust punishment, persecution and resistance, as our own to make, unmake, or even correct.

Conclusion: *Paradise* "or"

As I noted at the outset of this chapter, Milton has long been associated with the humanist culture of correction in its most literary form, or the idea that exercising the literary and poetic imagination can serve social purposes by helping readers vicariously test and expand their ethical faculties. The forms in which Milton expressed these arguments—his syntax, similes, and even the material text of *Samson Agonistes*—were essential. Critics have often described how Milton's formal and rhetorical strategies enact his arguments, for example in *Areopagitica* by positing a choice between modes of trial, whether by private imprimaturs or by public readers, that "forces freedom" on readers, as Achinstein has written: "building the logic of choice into its very rhetoric."[202] In fact, Milton's tract inscribes its famous vision of reading and writing as practices of self- and societal ethos-making within a series of *negative* comparisons that push back against what should by now be familiar as the rhetoric and culture of correction to further distinguish his imaginative projects: "a boy at school" under the "ferular" of his schoolmaster, the book itself "under the correction" of the licenser in turn likened to a "visible jaylor."[203] For those "free and ingenuous sort" who were "born to study, and love lerning for it self, not for lucre, or any other end, but the service of God and of truth," there could be no greater "displeasure and indignity" than to see their written "labours" come under "the cursory eyes of a temporizing and extemporizing licencer," Milton complains, comparing such a licenser to a pedantic schoolmaster.[204] "What advantage is it to be a man" rather than a "boy at school, if we have only scapt the ferular, to come under the fescu of an *Imprimatur*," Milton asks.[205] What good is it to write if "serious and elaborate writings" are to be treated as "no more" than the theme of a "Grammar lad under his Pedagogue"?[206] And how in turn can such a man "teach with authority, which is the life of teaching," how can such a thinker and writer "be a Doctor in his book as he ought to be" when "all he teaches, all he delivers, is but under the tuition, under the correction of his patriarchal licenser to blot or alter"?[207]

Milton then projects his own voice into that of any "acute reader" who will be ready ("with these like words") to "ding the book" that appears under such a licensing system, deploying rhetorical ethopoieia to personate an exchange between the reader rejecting such a book and the stationer himself: "I hate a pupil teacher, I endure not an instructor that comes to me under the wardship of an overseeing fist," the voice of the imagined reader complains.[208] "I know nothing of the licencer, but that I have his own hand here for his arrogance," this prospective reader continues, "who shall warrant me his judgment?"[209] "The State Sir, replies the Stationer," but the reader (and Milton) are ready with "a quick return": "The State shall be my governors, but not my criticks."[210] Thus the metaphors begin to turn back toward civil discipline. Despite that "dettors and delinquents may walk abroad without a keeper," Milton quips, "unoffensive books must not stirre forth without a visible jaylor in thir title."[211] Milton appears to partly revise that earlier statement, in which he had "den[ied] not," that the church and the Commonwealth ought indeed to have a "vigilant eye" as to "how Bookes demean themselves, as well as men; and thereafter to confine, imprison, and do sharpest justice on them as malefactors."[212]

Yet in those earlier, more famous sentences, Milton had also begun a similar pattern of making powerful statements ("books doe contain a potencie of life in them to be as active as that soule was whose progeny they are") that were partially retracted ("nay"), only to be replaced with another, even more memorable in the particular detail of its imagery: "They do preserve as in a violl the purest efficacie and extraction of that living intellect that bred them."[213] In this famous passage, the syntax continues step-wise, ratcheting up the provocation in a syntactical pattern through which "we shal seme as thoughe we wente up by stayres, not onelye to the toppe of a thinge, but also above the toppe," as Thomas Wilson's defined "Correcion."[214] "We should be wary therefore what persecution we raise against the living labours of publick men," Milton writes, especially "how we spill that reason'd life of man preserv'd and stor'd up in Books; since we see a kind of homicide may be thus committed, sometimes a martyrdome, and if it extend to the whole impression, a kind of massacre, whereof the execution ends not in the slaying of an elementall life, but strikes at that ethereall and fift essence, the breath of reason it self, slaies an immortality rather than a life."[215] Milton's self-revising syntax engages his readers in the same ethos-making work he argues is their proper charge, "forc[ing] freedom" and shifting responsibility for that freedom to his readers.[216] If *Areopagitica* "is to be faithful to the lesson it teaches, it cannot teach that lesson directly," Stanley Fish commented; "rather it must offer itself as the occasion for the trial and exercise that are necessary to the

constituting of human virtue; it must become an instrument in . . . 'knowledge in the making.'"[217]

Milton's theory of literary reading and writing was not only formed in contrast to carceral humanism and its corruptions, as this chapter has argued; those theories were articulated in part through the culture and the actual rhetoric of correction, ironically pushing against that topos as well, including its syntax, its habits of textual engagement, and its pedagogical roots. In *Areopagitica*, and in the poetics of *Paradise Lost* to which I will soon turn ever so briefly, the emerging topos of a more purely literary correction—as a vicarious, imaginative, and more inherently critical form of those cultural practices also named correction—anticipates the doubly narrative and justificatory structure that Vivasvan Soni calls "the trial narrative," and which would live on in moralizing justifications for the eighteenth-century novel, but also in contemporary notions of literature as a discipline for inculcating, testing, and expanding ethical capacities such as empathy and compassion.[218] Books are not only on trial by their readers: Books try readers. "I cannot praise a fugitive and cloister'd vertue, unexercis'd & unbreath'd," Milton famously wrote: "assuredly we bring not innocence into the world, we bring impurity much rather: that which purifies us is trial, and trial is by what is contrary."[219] "*Paradise Lost* constantly puts its readers to the test," Soni comments, citing Milton as the most direct progenitor of this tradition; the poem "forc[es]" its readers "to internalize the hermeneutic habits of trial."[220]

Yet the "trial narrative" can also be understood as a back-formation not only from forensic rhetoric but specifically the rhetoric of correction, I would suggest, even as trial itself became "something like the narratological unconscious of the eighteenth century," as Soni claims.[221] Samuel Richardson's *Pamela* (1740), which Ian Watt called "the first true novel," announces its purposes by quoting Milton almost word for word.[222] In these decades a justification of literature as edifying, moral training ground was becoming commonplace and even self-thematized as a stock plot within numerous early novels; Soni cites *Pamela*, *Clarissa*, and *The Vicar of Wakefield* as examples.[223] These tales, in which a young protagonist must resist the temptations and tribulations of the world and prove their virtuous mettle to achieve a narrative conclusion, constituted "one of the early novel's most distinctive contributions," even as it drew on the long-standing genre conventions of romance and spiritual autobiography.[224] In *Pamela*, however, Mr. B's supposed recuperation of his own attempted assaults—as a "trial" with benefits to Pamela's own virtue—are plucked specifically from the pages of *Areopagitica*'s justifications for active, activist, corrective reading: "I own I have demean'd myself; but it was only to try you," Mr. B claims; "I deny not . . . how Bookes demeane themselves,

as well as men" Milton wrote.[225] After the novel's many tests and the test he himself has personated, Mr. B commends Pamela's endurance: "you bring me what is infinitely more valuable, an experience'd truth, a well-try'd Virtue"—not a "a fugitive and cloister'd vertue, unexercis'd" as Milton had written.[226] "Both the reader and Mr. B must be taught" by the text "to read the novel" in the terms of a trial, Soni argues; invoking *Areopagitica* may have been a subtle transposition, or even a means to flag this maneuver.[227] When Mr. B realizes, but also announces himself, as the speaking, *ethopoetic* vehicle of the trial narrative, seemingly using words taken from *Areopagitica*, he also identifies himself as the erroneous aspect of the text which the reader-protagonist ought to resist or even correct. For "what is faith, love, virtue unassayed," as readers are asked in *Paradise Lost*.[228]

In that poem it is Satan who has been seen as the temptation not only to Eve and Adam but to the reader and perhaps to Milton himself, and who also announces himself in the rhetoric of correction. As Satan contemplates his impending punishments and wonders whether there is "no place / Left for repentance, none for pardon left," he continuously revises himself: "Nay . . . Which way I fly is hell; myself am hell."[229] But Satan's beguiling self-awareness is coterminous with a merely rhetorical *correctio* rather than a true turning back of the heart and mind in the Christian tradition of metanoia that became repentance.[230] Gabriel calls this out: "To say and straight unsay, pretending first."[231] But although Satan's "pretending" rhetoric is not to be trusted or truly felt, *correctio* remains essential to Milton's poetics more generally. Line by line, Milton's "sense variously drawn out from one verse into another" opens up space and time between a reader's initial reactions and their ultimately changed, reversed, or adjusted perceptions, achieving the ethical and aesthetic effect of administering the "correcting perspective" that Fish has so influentially described.[232] The structure of the Miltonic simile reveals this preoccupation as well. The choices that Milton builds into his epic similes create comparisons that are often not only extended but optioned: both a classical and a biblical metaphor, or both a biblicist and realist register, which the reader must relate between. For example in Book I, when the rebel angels are famously compared first to falling leaves ("angel forms" . . . "thick as autumnal leaves") in an age-old epic simile, then modified by Old Testament images of changing mythic proportions; or again when their horde is compared first to the plague of locusts from Exodus, modified by a swarm of barbarians invading from the north.[233] What results is the poem's kaleidoscopic, shifting feel: "the creation of a 'split-reader,' one who is continually responding to two distinct set of stimuli—the experience of the individual poetic moments and the ever-present pressure of the Christian doctrine—and who attaches these

responses to warring forces within him, and is thus simultaneously the location and the observer of their struggle," as Fish wrote.[234]

This effect often hinges on one of the most important words in *Paradise Lost*: or. The poem repeatedly offers more than one way of imagining or understanding something by way of its idiosyncratic uses of this conjunction. How Satan leaps the walls of Eden, for example, "and sheer within / Lights on his feet":

> As when a prowling wolf,
> Whom hunger drives to seek new haunt for prey,
> Watching where shepherds pen their flocks at eve
> In hurdled cotes amid the field secure,
> Leaps o'er the fence with ease into the fold:
> Or as a thief bent to unhoard the cash
> Of some rich burgher, whose substantial doors,
> Cross-barred and bolted fast, fear no assault,
> In at a window climbs, or oe'er the tiles;
> So clomb the first grand thief into God's fold:
> So since into his church lewd hirelings climb.[235]

Four and a half lines of vivid detail are dedicated toward the commonplace of the wolf. Then the hinge ("or") and four lines of vivid detail are dedicated toward the commonplace of the thief, including the furtherance "or oe'er the tiles," in which the thief steals not only in at the window but across the room.[236] The two scenes seem for a line to resolve themselves into balanced opposition: "So clomb the first grand thief into God's fold," which combines both the thief and wolf into one.[237] But, as with Satan's famed spear, a further line tosses the reader out of either scene or perhaps even out of the poem's own frame: "So since into his church lewd hirelings climb."[238] That summation recalibrates the entire triangle—Satan climbing over the wall of Eden like either a wolf over a fence or a thief through window—as itself a triplicate metaphor for corruptors of church governance, whether Catholics, bishops, Presbyters, or otherwise. Milton's or the speaker's own epic voice, a little sardonic, arrives and redirects the reader as an aside. But this redirection does not erase the more vivid description of the thief or the wolf or Satan himself, or the aesthetic pleasures of shifting, adjusting, and correcting each interpretation, which is essential to the reader's experience of the poem.

In the final books of *Paradise Lost*, one can witness how essential these techniques have become to the poem because they suddenly disappear. The rhetoric of correction helps make up Satan's mind, helps the reader see beyond sight,

helps Milton triangulate beyond classical images and biblical ones. But correction finally becomes a disciplinary tactic, used in Adam and Eve's catechism at the end of the poem; a transition in which the pleasure of *Paradise Lost* loses its force. In the final books, "the paradigm offered by Michael is one of correction," Ronald Cooley has recognized.[239] In this new paradigm, under correction—after Adam and Eve's fall but before their expulsion from Eden or their death, after their crime but before their ultimate punishment—the couple must "cultivate" their selves "through rigorous corrective dialogue," as Barbara Lewalski phrases it, even as their world is slipping precipitously toward this, fallen one.[240] The poem's dialectical labors in these final books are thematically corrective as well: Put to work instead of death, Adam and Eve discover life itself as their ironic sentence. Disciplinary correction, regularly presented in the early modern period as a reprieve from the gallows, now stands behind the first course of human life. All of life is an error under correction, an erring discourse awaiting divine revelation.[241]

But the poem's syntactical give and take, as well as its diegesis, now takes place mainly between Michael and Adam. The reader, like Eve, is pushed out of the poem. This might be why the poem's final books fall flat. "Representing these processes (prelapsarian questioning and lapsarian correction) involves recovering the dialectical character of forms of expression which, in fallen discourse, have taken on the monologic quality of oratory," Cooley argues.[242] The final discourses between Adam and Michael make a didactic and disciplinary lesson out of what had been a humanist, active exercise for the reader. Previously engaged by resisting Satan's rhetoric and fully at the center of a series of semantic, rational, ethical, theological, and political choices, the reader now finds themselves excluded from any such relational process of ethos making. By reverting to a dialogue taking place in front of rather than really involving the reader or audience, Milton creates the effect of the fallen world: a deadened schoolroom he might have sought to reform, the profitless workhouse whose shadow he once lived in. By the end of *Paradise Lost*, and via the end of *Paradise Lost*, we find it was not only our own reading but our own peculiarly active and somehow freeing administration of "the correcting perspective" that was bringing the poem to life.[243] Life before death may be "under correction," and yet the rhetorical, literary correction that engaged the reader in its processual, collaborative ethos-making was the poem's enlivening force, it turns out, as well as the pleasure missing in its final, fallen books.[244]

CONCLUSION

"The Correctional World"

In March 1647, *The humble Appeale and Petition of Mary Overton, prisoner in Bridewell* was published in London, seeking Overton's release after nearly four months in the house of correction.[1] The pamphlet is written in Mary's voice and advertises its provenance "*in Bridewell*" at the outset as well as its authorship "Per me *Mary Overton*" in larger type at its conclusion, although Mary's husband, the Leveller Richard Overton, also claimed authorship, and other parties may have been involved, given its extensive legal citations.[2] Not unlike Ellwood's poems, the conditions of the document's composition might always remain somewhat obscure. What is clear is that although *The humble Appeale* was addressed to Parliament, its wider aim was to win the support of the public, primarily through legal reasoning but also by speaking from the sympathetic position of an innocent mother:

> Your Petitioner, with her tender Infant in her armes of halfe a yeares age, was most inhumanely and barbarously dragged headlong upon the stones through all the dirt and the mire in the streets, and by the way was most unjustly reproached and vilified by their Officers, with the scandalous, infamous names of wicked Whore, Strumpet, &c. and in that contemptible, barbarous manner was cast into the most reproachfull Goale of Bridewell, that common center of Whores, Strumpets, &c. where . . . she remaineth in cruell restraint, being most unnaturally and tyrannically divided and divorced by a forced separation, from the comfort and society of her husband in this her afflicted condition . . . and her three helplesse children exposed to the mercy of the wide world . . . [3]

Overton's case, though exceptional in several regards, provides an opportunity to evaluate the house of correction's practices and arguments after nearly one

hundred years in operation. Her account evokes the abuses and corruption for which "the most reproachfull Gaole of Bridewell" had become known and with which it has often been associated in the popular imagination since.[4] From the beginning, the house of correction was accused of being little more than a "common center of Whores, Strumpets, &c.," and by the mid-seventeenth century was often understood as a "tyrannical" instrument for the immiseration and criminalization of whomever authorities might seek to suppress: women, the poor, religious minorities, dissenters and radicals such as the Levellers.[5]

Bridewell's court might have shifted blame to parliament slightly, but made no effort to conceal Overton's presence or invent a pretense for her detainment in its terse entry record: "Mary Overton per warrant from the house of Commones to remaine according to the warrant."[6] In fact, the overt political corruption evidenced in Overton's case was only a more extreme example of what was happening to the comparatively anonymous men and women who surrounded Overton in the prison. At the "Courte holden att Bridwell on Friday the [22nd] of January 1646" where Overton's entry was recorded, "James Floyd" was sent "to worke" for the supposed crime of being "idle and suspicious."[7] "Edward Barton," brought in "per warrant of Sir John Wallaston knight," chose to "goe to sea" rather than be committed to Bridewell.[8] "William Southerwood," "a Vagrant," also chose to "goe to sea."[9] "Rowland Laughey," "an idle wandering boy," who was also brought in on the orders of "Sir John Wallaston Knight," was set "to worke" in Bridewell.[10] "Rowland Beardwell . . . a lewde and disorderly boy" was also set "to worke."[11] Forty-seven individuals were processed by the court in the same session as Mary Overton. Some were delivered, some were sent "to sea," while most were set to their tasks in the house of correction.[12] Many were being admitted on the orders of an individual governor, alderman, or person of rank, and most on the usual pretenses of idleness and vagrancy. The treatment they suffered was no less arbitrary than that denounced by Overton, although it was in keeping with the mission and the practices of the institution established nearly one hundred years prior.

Overton's criticisms were slashing. Her petition compares the "insufferable tyrannie, injustice, violence" in England's prisons and houses of correction to "inforced slaverie."[13] Overton cites the protections of Magna Carta, cap. 29—"31 times confirmed in parliament"—that no "Free-man shall be . . . imprisoned" without "due manner," as well as statutes dating to the reign of Edward III that ought to protect "the Commoners" from "false accusers" by guaranteeing "due Processe."[14] "Yet when we have appealed to this House both for judgment and

redresse, all approaches to justice have beene interrupted and hitherto delayed," Overton laments in first-person plural: "while we, our husbands, brethren, friends and servants, contrary to all Law (severally, and in a forced and unjust separation from our husbands) are kept and mewed up in your severall starving, stinking, murthering prison-houses."[15] Overton demanded that Parliament "proclaim liberty to the captive, freedome to the oppressed" and "right the cause of the poore," but especially that they "reforme the cruelties and extortions of Goalers, which like so many vulters upon a dead karkase, eat the flesh, and pick the bones of those poore miserable soules that are cast into their custody."[16]

And yet the house of correction's "cruelties and extortions" continued much as they had for a century already, extracting labor and criminalizing poverty while promoting "hope of amendment."[17] Despite the cycles of scandal and outcry, and despite the eloquent and reasoned resistance of individuals such as Overton, Bridewell's ideas, arguments, and dubious practices were gaining ground. Hundreds of houses of correction had been built in response to Elizabethan statutes (18 Eliz.c.3; 39 Eliz.c.3–5; 43 Eliz.c.2) whose enforcement mechanisms were only strengthened after the accession of James I (1 Jac.I.c.6–7; 7 Jac.1.c.7). By the time of Overton's petition, houses of correction had been established across England, in rural as well as urban environments, and although their operations were uneven at best, all had been ordained with the common purposes of setting the poor on work while policing petty offenses through variable sentences that focused on work-training and to a certain extent vocational education.[18] These purposes would endure as ideological cornerstones of the workhouse and penitentiary movements of the eighteenth century, even as later reformers decried the abuses and appalling conditions into which many bridewells, houses of correction, and earlier workhouses had fallen. When the original Bridewell burned in the fires of 1666, it was immediately rebuilt. When the London Corporation for the Poor was reconstituted in the 1690s, it quickly began rebuilding the same kind of workhouses described and established during the Interregnum but initially disbanded at the Restoration.

As these carceral institutions grew and as their model spread, humanist educators and progressive religious sects continued to be some of their strongest advocates. This was already the case around the Anglo Atlantic by the time of Overton's petition. Sums and tallies and contracts "for the buildinge of a bridewell on the ground of the College" at Trinity College in Dublin are bound into the commonplace book of Luke Challoner, one of three original fellows who founded the college in the 1590s.[19] "Be it known to all men that I Anthony

Williams do agre w[ith] Lucas Challoner to . . . the worke of the Bridewell on the College ground," begins one of these documents.[20] "Be it knowen to all men by the presente that I William Roak (^alias Brenan) carpenter doo agree w[ith] Lucas Challoner for doinge the carpenter woorke of the bridwell in forme following," including the "beames plankinge partitions," reads another contract signed the "25 of April 1604."[21] The tallies for the construction in 1604 of what appears to be Dublin's earliest house of correction are bound alongside the first catalogue of Trinity's library, copied out for Challoner later on in 1610.[22] Challoner's Bridewell was thus built well in advance of the 1634 "Act for the erecting of houses of correction, for the punishment of rogues, vagabonds, sturdy beggers and other lewd and idle persons," which required the construction of bridewells in every county in Ireland.[23] Meanwhile, in the so-called new world, it was Quakers who ironically promoted the same penal paradigm whose corruption they had been persecuted by in England in the 1660s. William Penn's laws for the new colony, published in 1682, declared that "all prisons shall be work-houses, for felons, vagrants, and loose and idle persons, whereof one shall be in every county."[24] Pennsylvania's penal code was defined by varying lengths of "Imprisonment in the house of Correction at hard Labour to the behoof of the Publick" from the outset.[25]

Why did an Irish scholar of divinity such as Challoner seek immediately to build a bridewell "on the College ground" of his new university?[26] Why did Quakers continue to lead the way with institutions whose abuses they had endured in England? Surely Penn's friend Thomas Ellwood, who had experienced and decried Bridewell's workhouses, might have recognized that these institutions would never provide answers for the social problems they were supposed to address, but instead would only exacerbate those same problems while increasing the capacity of an earthly government to abuse its powers. There were multiple, inextricable explanations for the persistence of this troubling phenomenon, including the pull of capitalism's political and economic incentives—although these institutions notoriously struggled to turn a profit in their early centuries—as well as the push of Christian morality more generally, as these institutions ultimately proved popular in both Reformation and Counter-Reformation contexts, among Anglicans and Independent sects alike. Another factor, and the one this book has focused on, is visible in Mary Overton's own invocation of terms such as "humane" and "reform."[27] Despite leveling the harshest criticisms, when Overton's petition claimed she had been treated "most inhumanely" at Bridewell, her words imply something subtly

extraordinary: that a prison could indeed be humane. When she demanded that Parliament "reform" the country's corrupt jails and jailers, Overton again assumed something subtly extraordinary: that certain steps worth taking could achieve that more humane carceral system.[28]

These ideas could be invoked in a persuasive context in 1647 in part because for almost a century that was how the house of correction had promoted its new paradigm: as a more reasonable, more humane reform to the brutality of the gallows—a different kind of prison, intended to teach hard lessons and yet to offer chances at a second life. Even if in reality the house of correction was plagued by recidivism and corruption scandals and consistently failed to turn a profit, the humanist faith in reform and "hope of amendment," apparent from the very first entry in Bridewell's minute books, did not dim.[29] The humanist and proto-secular conception of the human being who can learn and change their mind and their behaviors here, in this life, before revelation but "under correction," had become almost impossible to deny.[30] Throughout *The humble petition*, Overton's persuasive case did not truly dispute Bridewell's ideals nor England's laws but rather sought to hold Parliament and the house of correction accountable to the relevant statutes, to their stated purposes, and to their common goals. Even Overton's harshest criticisms worked within the consensus that the idea of Bridewell had already achieved by the mid-seventeenth century, despite its corrupt reality. "The correctional world," as Foucault would eventually call it, had already been acceded to, even before Paris's famed Hôpital général had opened its doors.[31]

Today, advocates for decarceration warn against this phenomenon by identifying it as carceral humanism, or the tendency of prison systems to co-opt their own opposition, sometimes including humane and practicable reforms such as increased access to vocational training and education, which can improve conditions and reduce recidivism, but whose improvements have also in the past been used to help justify and thus expand systems that inevitably abuses their powers. At a moment when advocates and policies of decarceration have made significant but potentially fragile progress, it may be more important than ever to keep these longer historical cycles in mind.[32] This book has argued that the antecedents of carceral humanism can be traced far beyond the neoliberal reforms of the 1970s to 1990s, which helped give rise to mass incarceration, and even farther back than the "era of reform" between 1780 and 1830, which gave rise to the penitentiary system that has usually been treated the origin of a carceral paradigm "the Americans named best when they called it, simply, 'corrections.'"[33] An even

earlier form of carceral humanism emerged in England in the sixteenth century as a natural if contested extension of the reforms of civic and Christian humanism. It was called houses of correction.

The preceding chapters have sought to draw distinctions between the coercive tactics of carceral humanism and the normative aspects of what I call the culture correction, or between efforts to apply humanist principles directly in carceral contexts and the indirect influences of humanist culture more broadly, which I have nevertheless argued formed an important context and ideological framework in which to understand the experimental, carceral institutions at the center of this book. It was civic and Christian humanism that provided the peculiarly powerful rhetorical justifications for the house of correction, within which even Overton's critiques were framed. It was civic and Christian humanism that determined the practical life of the classrooms at Christ's Hospital and later at Bridewell; continued the pedagogical use of corporal punishment; and increasingly promoted the importance of basic literacy within vocational training programs, including for girls and the poorest of the poor.

Much more broadly, it was the humanist culture of correction that trained its students and future lawyers, politicians, and administrators to socialize themselves as subjects not only of discipline or self-discipline but as the agents of an array of subtler norms, which began in schools and universities but continued in the presses and print shops and in a particularly intriguing way in the corrections carried out by writers, scribes, and printers, as well as readers, for themselves. Textual correction, as an open-ended process of amending, amplifying, and dilating texts, was one of those quintessentially humanist processes of mutually constitutive, individual and social ethos-making, placed into the hands of humanist subjects who themselves became the makers of correction. In turn, literary thinkers often used the accepted, normative potential of these kinds of tasks to inscribe their own, more critical habits of thought. In Milton's proleptic, proto-Enlightenment vision, readers would try books and books would try readers, making literacy and literature itself into central activities for a humane, civil, or perhaps correctional society: "pens and heads . . . sitting by their studious lamps, musing, searching, revolving new notions and ideas wherewith to present . . . the approaching Reformation: others as fast reading, trying all things, assenting to the force of reason and convincement."[34]

Rereading the discourses of correction, one can perceive the practices of civic or Christian humanism giving way to the transhistorical norm that became humanism itself, defined in sharper and sharper opposition to the coercive physical tactics of the house of correction or *ergastula literaria*. "Under correction," to

use the early modern phrase, before or in anticipation of correction, was where the normative force of humanism and the humane was generated: in the schools, in the *ars rhetorica*, in the hands of readers correcting their texts and even audiences considering the actions of their characters on stage.[35] Those kinds of processes could be ethos-shaping. Those kinds of activities could produce not only the rhetorical effect of *correctio* but the inner reality of *metanoia*—to change your mind or come to your senses—in ways that the physical extortions of the house of correction never seemed to accomplish. The changes of self and thereby society that humanists sought were achieved more thoroughly and lastingly, as they themselves often argued and increasingly learned, where they were achieved more consensually: the "active embrace" rather than sheer manipulation for which humanist education remains known to this day.[36] Yet what Overton called the "inhumane" actions of the house of correction were nevertheless also essential as a wedge that increasingly pried carceral institutions apart from the expectations and norms of humanist culture and thus helped in that negative way to define the positive content of what was or would be the humane.

It is difficult to emphasize the liberatory potential of humanism's more collaborative and more creative cultural norms, given the economic and carceral systems that were then in formation. The critical subversions encoded in literary and dramatic "correction" were hardly compensatory. But the ambiguous potential of a Lockean freedom through self-mastery was also implicit in these discourses. Even Foucault, at the end of his career, began to theorize *ethopoiea* in a different light, as a noncoercive normativity, revealed in textual forms where individuals could create self-collaborations through the medium of language. "Under correction," in anticipation of correction but repurposing that discipline as a form of what Foucault called "the thought from outside," even normativity might be redirected.[37] Humanist linguistic objects were partially designed and partially repurposed to enable this process, and not only the diaries, commonplace books, indexes, and other textual models, including Bridewell's court books, but also the speculative fictions and utopias, dialogues and stage plays, tragedies and comedies, lyric and epic poems, debates *in utramque partem* and paradoxical metaphors considered in the preceding chapters of this book. All of these thought-models prompted critical reflections on self and society that provoked changes "under" or in advance of any disciplinary function or government censor.[38] All of these thought-models have also been shown to open up new means of resistance, however subtle they might appear.

For as we have witnessed again and again in this book, even at moments when it would seem "imaginary capture" was most complete, startling reversals

remained possible.[39] Mary Newborough's physical resistance, organizing her peers to barricade themselves inside an inner chamber, deeper within the prison, created new political conditions inside and outside Bridewell; but it was also her "outward shewe" of *metanoia* in the courtroom that sealed her release, and which even the scribe noted might have been a rhetorical performance: She "seemed to have the more repentinge and meltinge hart as partlie by her teares appeared."[40] Thomas Ellwood and his Friends took a different approach, repurposing the house of correction's unjust discipline as their own righteous resistance, refusing to leave even when given "the Liberty" of the courtyard and its exit: "there being a Passage through the Court into the Street . . ."[41] When Ellwood wrote that he and his fellow prisoners instead enlisted their own "Consience and Honour" to stand "engaged for our true Imprisonment," no imaginative submission could seem more thorough.[42] And yet it was possibly the reverse. Ellwood's radical obedience not only internalized and improved upon but made a quietist mockery of the house of correction's incoherent discipline. Denying that the earthly institution could ever have full power over his will, Ellwood chose instead to see his physical circumstances as merely temporary and his spiritual process as the ultimately lasting task at hand.[43] This was the fortitude of a Christian martyr, but it was also a metaphorical way of thinking, which Ellwood's poems from Bridewell still bring to life.

In such moments, one is reminded of the myriad ways in which humanist forms unsettle their historical and ideological contexts, even the ideologies of humanism itself, even in the most thoroughly "capture[d]" situations.[44] In Donne's 1621 sermon, for example, bought and paid for by the Virginia Company to which he spoke, his characteristically paradoxical way with metaphors nevertheless allowed him to ask his audience to imagine the whole of their new colony as one vast Bridewell, and in the process cast a revealing light upon their project. In another sermon in 1624, Donne again exposed some of the most existential anxieties of Christian humanism with an abrupt comparison: "Amongst drunkards, a sober man is a *spy* upon them; Amongst blasphemers, a prayer is a *libell* against them; And amongst dissolute and luxurious persons, a chast man is a *Bridewell,* his person, his presence is a *house of correction*."[45] Donne's metaphor depicts the Protestant ethic of self-control before social control, but also locates the individual as potential institution, with the exponential possibility toward further institutionalization, in a way that remains startling even now. Yet Donne's paradox works precisely by making its audience or reader sit up straight in their pew, consider the applicability of the metaphor, and look at themselves

in unfamiliar light, even in 1624. Could my "person," my very "presence," be institutional rather than individual? In such a formulation it might seem that early modern carceral humanism or simply antihumanism had already achieved the chilling reversal of those Renaissance ideals that found dignity in the malleability and potential of the human being—and yet by engaging his parishioners and readers with the thought-model of a metaphor, Donne's paradox provokes other possibilities.

The hypocrisies of carceral humanism were a central preoccupation for social, political, intellectual, and cultural life in early modern England, as the preceding chapters demonstrate. But as I have also sought to show, the culture of correction, or those everyday habits where the normative and even ethical functions of language were made manifest, offered different ways of seeing and practicing early modern humanism and were often used by literary and metaphorical thinkers in particular to further drive the wedge between the meaning of humanism and its carceral inversion in institutions such as workhouses and houses of correction. The 1671 printing of *Samson Agonistes*, with its page of missing, more radical lines that a reader was tasked with inserting into the text, literalized a conjunction between the political and ethical questions a text might pose to any reader and the actual normative tasks of textual emendation that might be activated as part of that process. The poem's strategies made the tactics of the "common workhouse" into a topic for debate through the refractions of an extended biblical metaphor but also through the material process of reading and correcting the text as a proxy for the understanding and improving the world. *Utopia* inaugurated a similar mode a century earlier, including through its anticipatory satirizing of the commonplace hunting of its most active or even activist readers. Texts such as *Samson Agonistes* or *Utopia* or *Measure for Measure* or Howes's manuscripts made the political and ethical orders of their own societies into their topics for debate from multiple perspectives and through the rhetorical *ethopoiea* of multiple voices, in the common tradition of humanist culture; yet they also use the humanist culture of correction as a particular means, both metaphorical and literal, to provoke and indeed "capture" a wider range of dissent than might otherwise survive. Most simply, these literary strategies forever changed the public understanding of the carceral institutions whose early history this book has reexamined.

Mary Overton's eloquent petition offers one case in point. But it is Ellwood who best demonstrates the use of literary culture to "correct" the ruses of carceral humanism, in his own immediate circumstances and in ways that have only been

magnified in the institution's historiography since. As a Quaker; as a Christian; as a student to Milton, the great poet of civic humanism; and as an aspiring writer in his own right, Ellwood undoubtedly internalized a normative culture of correction, but he was able to use his education and his inner discipline, not only to survive Bridewell, spiritually and personally, but to turn the history of the prison where he was unjustly punished toward his own perspective. It was after all Ellwood's memoirs that depicted Bridwell's whipping chambers more vividly or perhaps even more sensationally than any other firsthand account—those whips that "lap" the body with "little Knots upon them, tear the Skin and Flesh, and give extream Pain."[46] (The court minutes are silent on those particulars, beyond denoting who was "whipped" or "well-whipped" or "had correction.") It was also Ellwood's memoirs that provided the ghoulish descriptions of the transformations of Bridewell's palatial interiors, which have exerted their own imaginative sway over historians and the public ever since. (Leases copied into Bridewell's court books corroborate this information, although in far less gripping terms.) It was in many ways Ellwood's description of the house of correction that has been repeated more widely and more vividly than any evidence from the court books, at least until the rise of social history. "What Ink is black enough" to describe the place, Ellwood had asked in the verses he penned at Bridwell, and yet he dreamt of a God who would "Put a period on their cruelties."[47]

Ellwood's metaphors imagined a power in the details of the written words, even in syntax, even in in his own writings, that was divine and prophetic and yet entirely pragmatic. Elsewhere in his verses from "Bridewell, London: 1662" this power was connected to visibility: "Who to the Eye gave Sight? what shall not he / The Cruel Sufferings of his People see?"[48] These were common themes in carceral discourse, then or now. Yet the imagery of Ellwood's poems and memoirs not only reference the representational strategies of a carceral institution or showed his readers a more critical version of Bridewell; they also recall his apprenticeship to the blind poet he calls "my Master."[49] In *Paradise Lost*, which Ellwood read in manuscript shortly after his release from Bridewell, Adam described his Creator's overcoming vision this way: "Mine eyes he closed, but open left the cell / Of fancy my internal sight."[50] Milton's enjambment allows the image of a "cell" left open to enter the reader's mind, like light entering at an anchorite's window or a prison door left ajar, before, in the next line, the cell is also named the space of imagination or "internal sight."[51] The line break creates a different experience within the sentence, allowing the "sense" to be "variously drawn out," suspended just long enough for the reader to experience their own thought: noticing, choosing, exercising a will made to feel free.[52] "For who can

think submission?" Satan asked earlier in the poem.[53] If you are thinking, especially if you are thinking metaphorically, can you really be submitting? Ellwood was Adamic in multiple regards. He may have been the first poet whose verses from within the house of correction have survived, though he would not be the last. He also appears to have been the first reader of the manuscript of *Paradise Lost*, or the first outside of Milton's scribes. He was therefore among the first to consider how or whether you can really "think submission," if you can also perceive that the cell of "internal sight" has been left open, even for a moment.[54]

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. Grafton, *A chronicle at large*, fol. 7; Green, *Humanism and Protestantism*, 9–25, glosses these terms.

2. *OED*, "new learning (*n.*)." *The ethiques of Aristotle*; *The preceptes of the excellent clerke*; *A very pleasuant and fruitful diologe called the Epicure*. This woodcut can be found in *The Primer, and Cathechisme*, endpapers; also in Wilson, *The rule of reason*, X7.

3. Grafton's "Treasurer's Account Book 1552–1558," is held by the London Archives, CLC/210/C/001/MS12819/001.

4. Grafton, *A chronicle at large*, fol. 7.

5. *ODNB*, "Grafton, Richard, 1506/7–1573," fails to mention Bridewell. Nineteenth and early twentieth-century historians were only too eager to credit Grafton, by contrast. Kingdon, *Richard Grafton*, 53–54, calls Grafton the "designer and constructor" of the hospitals. Lempriere, *John Howes' MS 1582*, 70, calls Grafton the "master mind" behind the scheme. O'Donoghue, *Bridewell Hospital*, 160, credited Grafton for "watch[ing] over the infancy" of the institutions.

6. *OED*, "Renaissance man (*n.*)."

7. *Howes 1582*, 61.

8. *Howes 1582*, 4, 57, 14.

9. *Howes 1582*, 61; Ellwood, *History*, L2^{v}.

10. *Howes 1582*, 61; Bowen, *Extracts*, Appendix 4, "Ordinances and rules, drawn out for the government of the house of Bridewell, 1557," 11–14. Ellwood, *History*, N: "and a lusty Whipping-Post there was in each" of Bridewell's "Work-Houses."

11. Hinkle, *History of Bridewell Prison*, 61. O'Donoghue, *Bridewell Hospital*, 62. BCB-01, fol. 149–49^{v} / 332–33 confirms the holdings of the instrument maker John Rose, including the former presence chamber and part of the Long Gallery; Grafton is a signatory to the agreement. Corporation of London Records Office, Repertory 16 (1565/66–1569/70), 414, claims Rose's puppetry attracted "greate numbers" to the premises in 1568; the city's aldermen ordered "John Rose of bridwell" to "desiste and leve of that kinde of pastime that he there useth to make with puppets . . . whereby greate numbers of people do thither resorte."

12. BCB-01, fol. 1 / 34. Earlier proceedings are recorded in Christ's Hospital's minutes from 1556; see London Archives, CLC/210/B/001/MS12806/001.

13. *Orders appointed to be executed in the citie of London*, B2^{v}. Griffiths, *Lost Londons*, 279. Hinkle, *History of Bridewell Prison*, 164–65.

14. BCB-01, fol. 58^{v} / 149.

15. For example, BCB-01 fol. 82 /196, or BCB-01, fol. 206 / 446.

16. Griffiths, *Lost Londons*, 19.

17. The Bethlem Museum of the Mind and its archives are housed within Bethlem Royal Hospital, Monks Orchard Road, Beckenham BR3 3BX, United Kingdom; https://museumofthemind.org.uk/collections/archives.

18. Griffiths, *Lost Londons*, represents the most comprehensive study of Bridewell's court books; see also Griffiths, *Information, Institutions*. Duncan Salkeld's articles and books draw upon extensive research in Bridewell's minute books; see *Shakespeare Among the Courtesans* and *Shakespeare and London*, especially 80–88, 100–104, as well as articles listed in bibliography.

19. In 2025, participants in the Folger Institute seminar "Petty Crime in Early Modern London: The Bridewell Court Minute Books" were given access to nearly complete transcriptions of volumes 1-5, created by Alan Nelson and Duncan Salkeld. At the time of publication for the present volume, this resource has not yet been published.

20. Bridewell and its archives feature in several prominent essays and chapters, including Howard, "Crossdressing, The Theater, and Gender Struggle in Early Modern England"; Knoppers, "(En)gendering Shame" as well as "Rewriting the Protestant Ethic"; and Carroll, *Fat King, Lean Beggar*, 97–126. On the role of Bridewell's archives in feminist historiography, see Mowry, "London's Bridewell," 207–22. One would have expected a standalone volume to compare with Jackson's book on Bedlam, *Separate Theaters*.

21. Fleetwood, *Marking Time: Art in the Age of Mass Incarceration*, and Fox and Hausknecht, eds., *Shakespeare in the Age of Mass Incarceration*, offer recent, influential examples. For a wider sample consider Siegel, "Critical Prison Studies: Review of a Field."

22. *Howes 1582*, 10.

23. For example, BCB-01, fol. 209 / 452.

24. Petty, *The advice of W.P. to Mr. Samuel Hartlib*, B2^{r}–B2^{v}.

25. BCB-7, fol. 289^{v} / 574.

26. BCB-09, fol. 580 / 635.

27. *Several propositions tendered by the Corporation*, broadside.

28. London Archives, CLC/210/B/001/MS12806/001, fol. 4. Grafton and Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities*, xi–xiii, describes the impact of social history on the history of education and humanist culture; Green, *Humanism and Protestantism in Early Modern English Education*, 22, notes ongoing "lacunae in recent work on the nature and impact of English humanism."

29. *Stanleyes remedy*, A2^{v}. Studies that have influenced my own include Halpern, *Poetics of Primitive Accumulation*; Bushnell, *A Culture of Teaching*; and Enterline, *Shakespeare's Schoolroom*.

30. Halpern, *Poetics of Primitive Accumulation*, 26, 78.

31. Griffiths, *Information, Institutions*, 214.

32. BCB-01 fol. 58^{v} / 149. Innes, "Prisons for the Poor," 43, recognizes the "extraordinarily ambitious, even utopian" elements of these schemes.

33. Beier, "Foucault Redux?" applies these debates to the context of Bridewell specifically. See also Beier, *Masterless Men*; and Archer, *Pursuit of Stability*.

34. Davis, "Poor Relief, Humanism, and Heresy," 220.

35. Ignatieff, *A Just Measure of Pain*, 11: London's Bridewell was "the earliest forerunner of the penitentiary" and "the first use of confinement as a coercive education." Melossi and Pavarini, *The Prison and the Factory*, 32: Bridewell was "the most important example" before the penitentiary; its "social function and internal organization [were] . . . already to a large extent those of the classic nineteenth-century model." Innes, "Prisons for the Poor," 43–4, 94, cites Beatrice and Sidney Webb as the source of a "much-reiterated" conclusion that England's houses of correction nevertheless showed only "a measure of success" in "the first generation of their existence" before declining,

becoming all but indistinguishable from common gaols by the end of the seventeenth century; Innes argues that although "bridewells frequently failed to fill precisely the rolls their sponsors assigned to them," historiographical narratives of failure "undersell" the institution and "the complex relation" between its theory and practice. Hindle, *The State and Social Change in Early Modern England*, 164, supports the view that the houses of corrections' "record of achievement was poor," they were "badly managed and underfunded" and easily "degenerated into lock-ups."

36. Ahnert, *The Rise of Prison Literature in the Sixteenth Century*; Brady, *Poetry and Bondage*; Murray, "Measured Sentences"; Zim, *The Consolations of Writing*.

37. Ignatieff, *A Just Measure of Pain*, 11.

38. Murray, "Measured Sentences," 150.

39. *Orders appointed to be executed in the citie of London*, B2^{v}; Griffiths, *Lost Londons*, 18; Hinkle, *History of Bridewell Prison*, 164–65.

40. Schept, "Caring Cages," 193; Kilgore, "Repackaging Mass Incarceration."

41. *OED*, "correction, 4.d., house of correction, *n*."

42. Greengrass et al., *Hartlib Papers*, "Copy Proposal for Employment of Poor Immigrants to the City," 53/13/1B.

43. Bowen, *Extracts from the records and court books of Bridewell Hospital*, Appendix 4, 9, offers one explanation of the comprehensive approach imagined; see Chapter 2.

44. Ignatieff, *A Just Measure of Pain*, 11.

45. Consider Griffiths, "Contesting London Bridewell, 1576–1580," or Ungerer, "Prostitution in Late Elizabethan London," for accounts of two such episodes.

46. Innes, "Prisons for the Poor," 57; Hinkle and Henry, "Bridewell Prison and Workhouse," 82–85.

47. Innes, "Prisons for the Poor," 61–62, 67; Slack, *The English Poor Law 1531–1782*, provides a concise account. Hindle, *The State and Social Change in Early Modern England*, 164–69, is less sanguine on local compliance with these statutes. See also Griffiths, *Information, Institutions*, 173–224.

48. Innes, "Prisons for the Poor," 61–77; Griffiths, *Information, Institutions*, 173–224.

49. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 271: Foucault sees "the element of inverted efficiency" or "the *de facto* reintroduction, if not actual increase, of the criminality that the prison ought to destroy" along with "the repetition of a 'reform' that is isomorphic, despite its 'idealism,' with the disciplinary functioning of the prison" as key components of the overall functioning of a "carceral system" in which the prison itself is only one part. For historical analogues in the United States today, consider Schept, *Progressive Punishment*; Samuels, "Improvising on Reality."

50. BCB-01, fol. 205^{v} / 445.

51. *OED*, "pink, verb."

52. BCB-01, fol. 208^{v} / 445.

53. BCB-01, fol. 208^{v} / 445.

54. BCB-01, fol. 208^{v} / 445.

55. *OED*, "drab, *n*." BCB-01, fol. 208^{v} / 445.

56. Griffiths, *Lost Londons*, 198.

57. BCB-01, fol. 208^{v} / 445.

58. Mowry, "London's Bridewell," 207–22; see also Gowing, *Domestic Dangers*, as well as essays by Howard and Knoppers cited previously. Alicia Meyer, "Bridewell Without Women," talk delivered at Dartmouth College, November 3, 2022, points out that Bridewell's court books recorded more male than female prisoners, numerically speaking—58 percent to 42 percent, according to Griffiths's count—and yet women played a larger role in the cultural and popular imagination

surrounding Bridewell. Griffiths, *Lost Londons*, 465 (table 7b). See also Meyer, "Criminalizing Pregnancy Before Dobbs."

59. Sharpe, *Crime in Early Modern England*, 260; Spierenberg, "Four Centuries of Prison History," 17–35; Gorski, *The Disciplinary Revolution*, 25; Beier, "Foucault Redux," 52.

60. *Howes 1582*, 10.

61. Bowen, *Extracts*, Appendix 4:11–15.

62. *Howes 1582*, 10.

63. Griffiths, *Information, Institutions*, 10.

64. Bowen, *Extracts*, Appendix 4:9. See Chapter 2.

65. Bowen, *Extracts*, Appendix 4:9.

66. Griffiths, *Lost Londons*, 18–19, 253–54, 279; Manzione, *Christ's Hospital of London, 1552–1598*, 55; *Orders appointed to be executed in the citie of London*, B2^{v}; Slack, "Hospitals, Workhouses, and the Relief of the Poor in Early Modern London," 234–38.

67. Devereaux and Griffiths, *Penal Practice and Culture*, 23; Griffiths, *Lost Londons*, 275.

68. *Howes 1582*, 10; *Howes 1587*, 434–35.

69. *Orders appointed to be executed in the citie of London*, B4^{v}.

70. Bolton, *The guard of the tree of life*, 142; Purnell, *The Way to heaven discovered*, 50. Clarke, *Medulla theologiaes*, 44.

71. *An ease for overseers of the poore abstracted from the statutes*, 19.

72. Ellwood, *History*, K6.

73. *Howes 1582*, 39–40.

74. Marx, *Capital: Volume 1*, 899.

75. Foucault, *History of Madness*, 53–55, cites John Howard to dismiss sixteenth- and seventeenth-century houses of correction; however, one might note that Bridwell accorded with all of the "three great principles" Foucault considered constitutive of the early nineteenth century's reformist prisons in *Discipline and Punish*, 7, 121: Sentences were proportioned to offenses and offenders, and duration was the primary variable; work was obligatory; a timetable dictated the prisoners' days. Houses of correction diverged from Foucault's paradigm in that they continued to exercise public spectacles of pain, had no individuated cells (except as special punishment), and remained a remarkably porous rather than austere institution.

76. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 271.

77. Altman, *Tudor Play of Mind*, 18. Rhodes offers a concise account of the influence of declamation in "Controversial Plot." *Howes 1582*, 70.

78. *Howes 1587*, 438.

79. *Howes 1587*, 439.

80. *Howes 1587*, 439. Sharpe, *Crime in Early Modern England*, 260: Citing parliamentary debates from 1621, Sharpe concludes that by then there was even "a widespread awareness" that Bridewell's model was "as likely to create criminals as it is cure them."

81. *Howes 1587*, 439.

82. *Howes 1587*, 439.

83. *Howes 1587*, 439.

84. Bushnell, *A Culture of Teaching*, 74.

85. Grafton and Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities,* xvi.

86. Miernowski, *Early Modern Humanism and Postmodern Humanism in Dialogue*, v–ix, glosses these terms.

87. *Howes 1582*, 4, 16. *Ethiques of Aristotle*, L1^{v}.

88. Rawls, "Two Concepts of Rules," 11–12.

89. Rawls, 11–12.

90. Rawls, 11–12; Schept, "Caring Cages," 192.

91. *Severall propositions tendered by the Corporation*.

92. *Hartlib Papers*, "Copy Proposal Related to Poor Relief in Hand B," 15/2/55A.

93. *Hartlib Papers*, "Copy Memorandum on Relief of the Poor," 15/2/11A-B, 11A.

94. Grafton, *Culture of Correction in Renaissance Europe*, 29.

95. Foucault, *About the Beginning of the Hermeneutics of the Self*; *Hermeneutics of the Subject*; *Technologies of the Self*; *Fearless Speech*; "The Subject and Power" and "Self Writing" collected in *The Essential Works of Michel Foucault, 1954–1984: Power*.

96. Compare Lee, "Foucault's Late Ethics and the Sublime Body," 180, as well as Luxon, "Ethics and Subjectivity," 378. *OED*, "ethopoeia, *n*."

97. Foucault, *Hermeneutics of the Subject*, 237.

98. Foucault, 237.

99. *Precepts of . . . Plutarche*, G^{v}.

100. *Precepts of . . . Plutarche*, G^{v}.

101. *Ethiques of Aristotle*, B7^{v}.

102. *Howes 1582*, 10.

103. Foucault, "Self-Writing," 210.

104. *OED*, "correction, *n*." and "correct, *adj*. and *v*."

105. *OED*, "correction, *n*.," 1.a., 2., 3., 4.a.

106. Lewis and Short, *Latin Dictionary*, "correctio, II."

107. Wilson, *The arte of rhetorique*, Bb4.

108. Sherry, *A treatise of the figures of grammer and rhetorike*, fol. 52^{v}; Peacham, *The garden of eloquence*, K2^{v}.

109. Wilson, *The arte of rhetorique*, Bb3^{v}. Cunmings, *Literary Culture of the Reformation*, 245.

110. Peacham, *The garden of eloquence*, K3.

111. *OED*, "eparnorthosis, *n*."; Fenner, *The artes of logike and rhetorike*, D4^{v}.

112. *OED*, "metanoia, *n*."

113. Puttenham, *The Art of English Poesy*, 300–301.

114. Rummel, *Erasmus's Annotations*, 153.

115. Rummel, 152.

116. Rummel, 153.

117. Rummel, 153.

118. *The Newe Testament in Englishe Accordynge to the Translacion of the Greate Bible*, a3^{v}.

119. Puttenham, *Art of English Poesy*, 300–301.

120. *A checke or reproof of M. Howlet,* fol. 28^{v}.

121. Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 341–43, 346, 354; Shuger, "Reformation of Penance," 560; *Articles agreed on by the bishoppes*, B3^{v}; Richardson, *Choice observations and explanations upon the Old Testament*, 278; Weber, *Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, 158–65; Kahl, "Religious Roots of Modern Poverty Policy," 104.

122. Henshaw, *Horae succisivae*, 160–61.

123. *Articles agreed on by the bishoppes*, B^{v}.

124. Quoted in Corringe, *God's Just Vengeance*, 132.

125. Rutherford, *A sermon preached before the right honorable house of lords*, 18 or D^{v}.

126. Henshaw, *Horae succisivae*, 160–61; Richardson, *Choice observations*, 278.

127. Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses," 85–126, especially 115–20; Grafton, *Culture of Correction in Renaissance Europe*; Blair, "*Errata* Lists and the Reader as Corrector," 21–41; Smyth, *Material Texts in Early Modern England*; Lerer, *Error and the Academic Self*.

128. Grafton, *Culture of Correction in Renaissance Europe*, 54.

129. Blair, "*Errata* Lists and the Reader as Corrector," 26.

130. Grafton, *Culture of Correction in Renaissance Europe*, 29.

131. Grafton, 29.

132. Wilson, *Rule of reason*, X6.

133. Wilson, X6. Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, 72–87, 81.

134. Bourdieu, 81.

135. Halpern, *Poetics of Primitive Accumulation*, 31.

136. Grafton, *Graftons abridgement of the Chronicles of Englande newly and diligently corrected*, 4–5^{v}.

137. Sidney, *An apologie for poetrie*, A3^{v}.

138. Smyth, *Material Texts in Early Modern England*, 83.

139. Milton, *Paradise Lost. A poem written in ten books*, a4^{v}.

140. Grafton and Jardine, "'Studied for Action,'" remains widely influential. Blair, "*Errata* Lists and the Reader as Corrector," makes the connection to errata. Fish, *Surprised by Sin*, 9, 43.

141. *OED*, "correction, 1.b., under correction."

142. Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, 81.

143. Sidney, *An apologie for poetrie,* F3^{v}.

144. Sidney, F3^{v}.

145. Heywood, *An Apology for Actors*, C3.

146. Heywood, C3.

147. Green, *A refutation of the Apology for actors*, H2^{v}.

148. Green, H2^{v}.

149. Milton, *Complete Prose Works of John Milton, Volume II* [*Areopagitica*], 492.

150. [*Areopagitica*], 492.

151. *Shake-speares Sonnets*, G4 (sonnet 111).

152. BCB-01, fol. 1 / 34, for example.

153. BCB-01, flyleaves.

154. BCB-01, fol. 14 / 60.

155. BCB-01, fol. 14 / 60.

156. BCB-01, fol. 14 / 60.

157. BCB-01, fol. 28^{v} / 89.

158. BCB-01, fol. 63^{v} / 159.

159. BCB-01, 84 / 242.

160. BCB-01, fol. 132^{v} / 299.

161. See appendix A.

162. Overton, *The humble Appeale*, 8.

163. Howard, *Theatre of a City*, 72; Carroll, *Fat King, Lean Beggar*, 114; Salkeld, *Shakespeare Among the Courtesans*, Chapter 1 at n36.

164. Dustagheer, *Shakespeare's Two Playhouses*, Chapter 4, "Haunted Space," 139–69, offers "a stronger case than has previously been made for the play's performance at the Blackfriars." See also Bourus and Taylor, "Performance-Testing the Adaptation Hypothesis," 363–401.

165. Taylor et al., *New Oxford Shakespeare,* vol. 2, ed. "MEASURE, for Measure," 1711–1791, 1760 (3.1.273).

166. Transportation and institutional correction continued to be handed down by the same statutes, confirmed in 1601 (43 Eliz.c.2), 1604 (1 Jac.I.c.6–7), and expanded in 1610 (7 Jac.1.c.7).

167. BCB-05, fol. 220 / 468. Griffiths, *Lost Londons*, 284–90; Coldham, *Emigrants in Chains*, 1–3. Those sent to Virginia "at the first" were "the very scumme of the Land" Patrick Copland claimed in a Company-sponsored sermon: *Virginia's God be thanked . . . the 18. of Aprill 1622*, 24.

168. Griffiths, *Lost Londons*, 284, 472–73, tables 9a–b. *Records of the Virginia Company*, vol. 1, entry for December 23, 1619; 288–89.

169. Gurr, "*The Tempest*'s Tempest at Blackfriars," 251: "*The Tempest* was the first play Shakespeare unquestionably wrote for the Blackfriars rather than the Globe."

170. Duffet, *The Mock-Tempest*.

171. Petty, *The advice of W.P. to Mr. Samuel Hartlib*, B2^{r}–B2^{v}.

172. Milton, *Complete Shorter Poems*, 357.

173. Fish, *Surprised by Sin*, 9, 43.

174. Fish, 43.

175. Petty, *The advice of W.P. to Mr. Samuel Hartlib*, B2^{r}–B2^{v}.

CHAPTER 1

1. Stanley, *Stanleyes remedy*, A2^{v}; Carroll, *Fat King, Lean Beggar*, 55–59, addresses Stanley's story; see also Ungerer, "Prostitution in Late Elizabethan England," 183–84, as well as Chapter 3 of this book.

2. *Stanleyes remedy*, A1^{v}. See also *To the kings most excellent Majesty . . . the humble petition of Thomas Stanley*.

3. *Stanleyes remedy*, A1^{r}–^{v}, A2^{v}, A4^{v}.

4. *Stanleyes remedy*, A1^{v}.

5. *Stanleyes remedy*, A1^{v}.

6. *Stanleyes remedy*, A1^{v}–A2.

7. *Stanleyes remedy*, A4.

8. *A fruteful, and pleasaunt worke of the beste state of a publique weale . . . called Utopia*, D7^{v}; cited by short title "*Utopia 1551*" hereafter.

9. *A frutefull pleasaunt, [and] wittie worke, of the beste state of a publique weale . . . called Utopia*, D8; cited by short title "*Utopia 1556*" hereafter.

10. Eliot, *The banket of sapience*, C3.

11. Davies, "Vagrancy Act of 1547," 547; Beier, *Social Thought in England*, Chapter 9 at n78.

12. *Stanleyes remedy*, A4.

13. Abensour, "History of Utopia and the Destiny of Its Critique," 4.

14. Davies, "Vagrancy Act of 1547," 541–42.

15. Beier, "Foucault Redux?," 33. See also Sharpe, *Crime in Early Modern England*, 260. Slack, *The English Poor Law*, 59–65, offers a succinct overview of developments in early poor laws. In 1536 (27 Hen. VIII c.25), vagrants were to be set to work and children set to service; in 1547 (1.Edw. VI c.3), vagrants bound as slaves for two years, and children forced into service; in 1576 (14 Eliz. I c.5), houses of correction mandated in every county; in 1598 (39 Eliz. I. c.30) and 1610 (7 James I c.4) further enforcement for county houses of correction and work stocks; in 1647 and 1649, Parliament established the Corporation of the Poor for the erection of workhouses and houses of correction. Patterns in criminal badging and branding discussed hereafter. On *Utopia*'s influence, see McCutcheon, "Puns, Paradoxes, and Heuristic Inquiry," 98; Spierenberg, "Four Centuries of Prison

History," 17–39; Guasco, *Slaves and Englishmen*, 35; Beier, *Social Thought in England*, Chapter 9 at n78; and Nyquist, "Base Slavery and Roman Yoke," 625.

16. Bishop, "*Utopia* and Civic Politics," 933–53.

17. Surveyed copies of the English Short Title Catalogue (2nd ed.) 18094, 18095 and 18095.5 are listed in the bibliography.

18. Davies, "Vagrancy Act of 1547," 541.

19. Spierenberg, "Four Centuries of Prison History," 20. Beier, *Social Thought in England*, Chapter 9 at n78.

20. For the civic and Ciceronian position, see especially Skinner, *Visions of Politics*, vol. 2; for a powerful counterargument, see Nelson, "Utopia Through Italian Eyes."

21. Slights, *Managing Readers*, 158, notes the importance of marginal indexes. Grafton and Jardine, "Studied for Action," remains a foundational and much-cited study; see also Sherman, *Used Books*; compare Hackel's survey of 151 copies of Sidney's *Arcadia*: *Reading Material in Early Modern England*, 137–39; or Jackson's survey of 386 copies of Boswell's *Life of Johnson* in *Marginalia*, 165–78.

22. Elsky, "Common Law and the Commonplace in Thomas More's Utopia," 181–210. Many copies contain heavier markings in Book I, including four copies where marking is found only in Book I: Brown University Library (hereafter Brown) D556 .M836f; Folger Shakespeare Library (hereafter Folger)18094 Copy 2; Folger 18095.5 Copy 2; Ransom Center Library at the University of Texas (hereafter Ransom), HX 811. Perhaps readers were simply too bored to make it to Utopia and Book II. However, I find Elsky's analysis of the commonplace epistemology of Book I more convincing. An exception to this trend would be the heavily annotated 1556 copy held by Princeton University Library (hereafter Princeton), EX 3865.5.392.8.12 (hereafter Princeton 1556), where the majority of the annotations are found in Book II.

23. Ransom HX 811, front flyleaves.

24. Luders et al., *The statutes of the realm*, hereafter cited as 1.Edw.VI.c.3.

25. Brown D556 .M836f, C5.

26. 1.Edw.VI.c.3.

27. Brown D556 .M836f, C8^{v}.

28. 1.Edw.VI.c.3.

29. 1.Edw.VI.c.3.

30. 1.Edw.VI.c.3.

31. 1.Edw.VI.c.3.

32. 1.Edw.VI.c.3.

33. 1.Edw.VI.c.3.

34. 1.Edw.VI.c.3.

35. 1.Edw.VI.c.3.

36. 1.Edw.VI.c.3.

37. 1.Edw.VI.c.3.

38. *Utopia 1556*, N3^{v}.

39. 1.Edw.VI.c.3.

40. 1.Edw.VI.c.3.

41. 1.Edw.VI.c.3.

42. Davies, "Vagrancy Act of 1547," 545; Wrightson, "Two Concepts of Order," 25–26; *English Society*, 13. Court records show that vagabonds continued to be whipped, stocked, and expelled instead of enslaved.

43. Hindle, *On the Parish?*, 191–223; Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death*, 6–7.

44. Davies, "Vagrancy Act of 1547," 543.

45. Davies, 543.

46. Bishop, "*Utopia* and Civic Politics," 941–50.

47. *Utopia 1551*, [+].

48. Bishop, "*Utopia* and Civic Politics," 948. BCB-01, fol. 207, 220, 219.

49. Bishop, 953.

50. Davies, "1547–9 Vagrancy Act," 545.

51. King, "Freedom of the Press," 1–9; Bishop, "*Utopia* and Civic Politics," 946–50; Houston, *Renaissance Utopia*, 42; Sacks, *Utopia*, 59–61.

52. Warner, *The Making and Marketing of Tottel's Miscellany*, 19; O'Donoghue, *Bridewell Hospital*, 160; *Howes 1582*, 6, 46, 61.

53. *Journal of the House of Lords*, V. 1, 302, 303, 305; *Journal of the House of Commons*, V.1, 1–3.

54. Slack, *Poverty and Policy*, 113–36; Davies, "Vagrancy Act of 1547," 536, 545; McIntosh, *Poor Relief in England*, 123–34, 138; King, "Freedom of the Press," 8.

55. Folger 18095.5, copy 2, C3^{v}.

56. Beier, *Social Thought in England*, Chapter 9 at n78.

57. Davies, "1547 Vagrancy Act," 547.

58. Innes, "Prisons for the Poor," 43.

59. Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, Chapter 1 at n70.

60. Erasmus, "Letter 999 to Ullrich Von Hotten, 1519," in *The Correspondence of Erasmus*, 24.

61. Erasmus, *The Correspondence of Erasmus*, 24; Hexter, *More's* Utopia, 29.

62. Hexter, 18–30.

63. Hexter, 18–30.

64. Logan, *The Meaning of More's* Utopia, 38.

65. More, *Utopia*, 48–49.

66. *Utopia 1551*, B6^{v}–B7.

67. *Utopia 1551*, B6^{v}–B7.

68. *Utopia 1551*, B6^{v}–B7.

69. Logan, *The Meaning of More's* Utopia, 38–39; Elsky, "Common Law and the Commonplace," 181–210.

70. *Utopia 1551*, B6^{v}.

71. Sidney, *An apologie for poetrie*, D4.

72. Skinner, *Visions of Politics*, vol. 2, 221. See also Cormack, *A Power to Do Justice*, 107. Nelson, "Utopia Through Italian Eyes," argues that Utopia proffers a critique rather than endorsement of Ciceronian civic humanism.

73. More, *Utopia*, 34–35; Skinner, *Visions of Politics*, vol. 2, 222.

74. More, *Utopia*, 35: "as little bad as possible." *Utopia* 1556, F7: "so to ordre it that it be not very badde." More, *Yale Edition of the Complete Works of Thomas More*, vol. 4, 100: "ut sit quam minime malum."

75. Norbrook, *Poetry and Politics in the English Renaissance*, 29.

76. Baker, *Divulging Utopia*, 111; *Utopia 1551*, B6^{v}–B7.

77. Baker, *Divulging Utopia*, 109; *Utopia 1551*, G5 (title page to Book II). In a rare change perhaps due to fears of Marian reprisals, this phrase (from the title page to Book II) shifts to "on the politike governement" in 1556.

78. Houston, *Renaissance Utopia*, 43.

79. Bishop, "*Utopia* and Civic Politics," 952.

80. On the doctrinal valences of "fruitful" or "fruit," see Christopher, *Milton and the Science of the Saints*, 19–20.

81. *Utopia 1551*, [+]4^{v}-[+]5^{r}.
82. Cave, *Thomas More's Utopia in Early Modern Europe*, 87.
83. *Utopia 1551*, [+]3.
84. *Utopia 1551*, [+]3.
85. *Utopia 1551*, [+]3.
86. *Utopia 1551*, [+]3.
87. *Utopia 1556*, A2.
88. *Utopia 1556*, frontispiece.
89. *Utopia 1556*, frontispiece.
90. *Utopia 1556*, A3.
91. *Utopia 1556*, A3. Compare Cicero, *De officiis*, 1.114–15. The passage is underlined in Harvard 18095.5 (B), and was commonplaced by Edward Pudsey circa 1600: McCutcheon, "More's *Utopia* as Commonplaced," 39.
92. Cormack, *A Power to Do Justice*, 103–4.
93. *Utopia 1556*, A3.
94. Cave, *Thomas More's Utopia in Early Modern Europe*, 257.
95. *Utopia 1556*, S7^{v}.
96. *Utopia 1556*, S7^{v}.
97. *Utopia 1556*, S7^{v}.
98. *Utopia 1556*, C4^{v}–C5; C8^{v}–D; D^{v}–D2; D4^{v}–D5; four indexical markers per spread.
99. *Utopia 1556*, C4^{v}–C5.
100. *Utopia 1556*, C8^{v}–D; D^{v}–D2.
101. *Utopia 1556*, D4^{v}–D5.
102. Hexter, *More's* Utopia, 18–30.
103. *Utopia 1556*, C4.
104. *Utopia 1556*, C4.
105. Elton, *Reform and Reformation*, 42–45.
106. Brown D556 .M836f, [C4], [B]^{v}.
107. Bodleian Library, Tanner 66 (1), [C4].
108. BL Hargrave MS 89, 3.
109. Ransom HX 811, front flyleaf.
110. British Library (hereafter BL) c.38.a.11, C3^{r-v}. See BL c.38.a.11, S3^{v}: "Hughe Piggotte is my name" and P8^{v}: "Hughe Piggott" . . . "is the owner of this booke."
111. BL c.38.a.11, [C3]$^{r-v}$, C5^{r}.
112. Logan, *The Meaning of More's* Utopia, 49.
113. *Utopia 1556*, D4.
114. BL c.38.a.11, D4.
115. Brown D556 .M836f, D4.
116. *Utopia 1556*, C5.
117. Brown D556 .M836f, C5.
118. National Library of Scotland, H.25.d.2, D5.
119. Ames, *Citizen Thomas More*, 176.
120. Cormack, *A Power to Do Justice*, 102–29.
121. Logan, *The Meaning of More's* Utopia, 50.
122. *Utopia 1556*, C4.
123. Cormack, *A Power to Do Justice*, 124–29. This is the maxim of equity; indeed, the marginal note in the 1556 edition indexes the above passage: "Of laws not made according to equity."

124. Brown D556 .M836f, D4.

125. Princeton 1556, C4^{v}.

126. *Utopia 1556*, D2^{v}–D3.

127. Bodleian Tanner 872, end papers.

128. BL c.38.a.11, D3.

129. Brown D556 .M836f, D3; Folger Shakespeare Library (hereafter Folger), 18095.5 Copy 2, D3, title page ("Roberti Hare. 1572").

130. Hexter, *More's* Utopia, 62–64: More "was one of the very few original thinkers in the two centuries before Calvin."

131. Hexter, *More's* Utopia, 62–64.

132. Ames, *Citizen Thomas More*, 57.

133. Logan, *The Meaning of More's* Utopia, 49.

134. *Utopia 1556*, D5.

135. *Utopia 1556*, D5.

136. *Utopia 1556*, D5.

137. *Utopia 1556*, D5.

138. *Utopia 1556*, D5.

139. *Utopia 1556*, D5.

140. *Utopia 1556*, D5^{v}.

141. McCutcheon, "More's *Utopia* as Commonplaced," 33–40.

142. *Utopia 1556*, D5^{v}, D6.

143. Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death*, 29–32.

144. *Utopia 1556*, D6$^{r\text{-}v}$.

145. Hexter, *More's* Utopia, 44; Foley, "The Difference Theology Makes," 82; McCutcheon, "My Dear Peter," 80. There has been little or no speculation about the compositor or author of the 1556 English marginal notes, but some regarding the Latin ones: Most attribute these to Erasmus, Peter Giles, and/or More himself.

146. *Utopia 1556,* D6^{v}.

147. Brown D556 .M836f, D6^{v}.

148. *Utopia 1556,* L^{v}.

149. *Utopia 1556,* L4.

150. Betteridge, *Writing Faith and Telling Tales*, 82.

151. *Utopia 1556,* D6^{v}–D7.

152. Logan, *The Meaning of More's* Utopia, 64–65.

153. Cambridge University Library, Additional MS 6061, 21.

154. Logan, *The Meaning of More's* Utopia, 63.

155. *Utopia 1566*, D8.

156. *Utopia 1556*, D8$^{r\text{-}v}$.

157. *Stanleyes Remedy*, A4.

158. *Utopia 1556*, D5, D6, E.

159. Logan, *The Meaning of More's* Utopia, 64–65.

160. Griffiths, *Lost Londons*, 279: tables 2a, 4a, 5a, 7b.

161. *Utopia 1556*, D8^{v}–E1.

162. Beier, *Social Thought in England*, Chapter 9 at n75.

163. Brown D556 .M836f, [D8]^{v}; Bodleian Tanner 66 (1), [D8]^{v}.

164. *Utopia 1556*, D8^{v}.

165. *Utopia 1556*, D8^{v}.

166. *Utopia 1556*, E.
167. *Utopia 1556*, E.
168. *Utopia 1556*, E.
169. *Stanleyes Remedy*, A4.
170. *Utopia 1556*, E2.
171. *Utopia 1556*, E2.
172. *Utopia 1556*, E3^{v}.
173. *Utopia 1556*, E3^{v}.
174. *Utopia 1556*, E3^{v}–E4.
175. Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability*, 244.
176. Brown D556 .M836f, E3^{v}-E4; Ransom HX 811, E2^{v}-E3.
177. Rancière, "The Senses and Uses of Utopia," 219.
178. *Utopia 1556*, N7.
179. Princeton 1556, N7.
180. *Utopia 1556*, N7. On proportionate sentencing compare Plato, *Laws*, 934a–b; Cicero, *De officiis*, I.XXV.89.
181. *Utopia 1556*, N7^{v}–N8. The 1551 edition has "remytted" where 1556 has "released." Compare Plato, *Laws*, 862e.
182. *Utopia 1556*, N7^{v}.
183. Guasco, *Slaves and Englishmen*, 33.
184. *Utopia 1556*, N7^{v}.
185. *Utopia 1556*, J7^{v}.
186. Nyquist, "Base Slavery and Norman Yoke," 626; Nyquist observes that *servus* "could be translated into the vernacular as either 'servant' or 'slave' in the period, the latter usually designating Graeco-Roman chattel slavery, galley slavery and was slavery." Adams et al., *Utopia*, 55.
187. *Utopia 1556*, J7^{v}.
188. *Utopia 1556*, J7^{v}.
189. *Utopia 1556*, J7^{v}.
190. McCutcheon, "More's *Utopia* as Commonplaced," 39.
191. *Utopia 1556*, K.
192. McCutcheon, "More's *Utopia* as Commonplaced," 39.
193. *Utopia 1556*, J7^{v}.
194. Guasco, *Slaves and Englishmen*, 33.
195. *Utopia 1556*, N3^{v}.
196. McCutcheon, "More's *Utopia* as Commonplaced," 39.
197. Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, 39.
198. Princeton 1556, N4.
199. *Utopia 1556*, N3^{v}.
200. *Utopia 1556*, N3^{v}.
201. Princeton 1556, N2.
202. Gordon, "The Platonist Dramaturgy of Thomas More's Dialogues," 204.
203. Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death*, 21–32; *Utopia 1556,* N3^{v}; Avineri, "War and Slavery in More's *Utopia*," 281.
204. Guasco, *Slaves and Englishmen*, 33–36.
205. *Utopia 1556*, H4.
206. *Utopia 1556*, H4.
207. Princeton 1556, H4.

208. Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death*, 13.
209. Princeton 1556, K4.
210. *Stanleyes Remedy*, A3.
211. *Utopia 1556*, K4^{v}.
212. BL, G.2285.(2.), N8.
213. Jameson, *Archaeologies of the Future*, 12.
214. Jameson, xiii.
215. *Utopia 1556*, K4^{v}.
216. Princeton 1556, K4^{v}.
217. Princeton 1556, H5, J4.
218. Princeton 1556, J^{v}–J2.
219. Princeton 1556, J^{v}–J2.
220. Princeton 1556, J^{v}–J2.
221. Princeton 1556, end page.
222. Davies, "Vagrancy Act of 1547," 541–42; McCutcheon, "Puns, Paradoxes, and Heuristic Inquiry," 98; Spierenberg, "Four Centuries of Prison History," 20; Guasco, *Slaves and Englishmen*, 35; Beier, *Social Thought in England*, Chapter 9 at n78; Nyquist, "Base Slavery and Norman Yoke," 625.
223. Nyquist, "Base Slavery and Norman Yoke," 625.
224. Beier, *Social Thought in England*, Chapter 9 at n78.
225. Bishop, "*Utopia* and Civic Politics."
226. Innes, "Prisons for the Poor," 43.
227. Guasco, *Slaves and Englishmen*, 39.
228. *Utopia 1556*, N7^{v}–N8.
229. Guasco, *Slaves and Englishmen*, 39.
230. *Utopia 1556*, A7^{v}–A8.
231. *Utopia 1556*, A8^{v}.
232. *Utopia 1556*, A8^{v}.
233. *Utopia 1556*, A8v.
234. *Utopia 1556*, A8^{v}.
235. *Utopia 1556*, A8^{v}.
236. *Utopia 1556*, A8^{v}.
237. Jameson, *Archaeologies of the Future*, xiii.
238. Guasco, *Slaves and Englishmen*, 39.

CHAPTER 2

1. The London Archives, CLC/210/B/001/MS12806/001, fol. 3.
2. CLC/210/B, fol. 3.
3. CLC/210/B/001/MS12806/001, fol. 3.
4. CLC/210/B/001/MS12806/001, fol. 3.
5. CLC/210/B/001/MS12806/001, fol. 4.
6. Skinner, *Visions of Politics*, vol. 2, 221.
7. Aristotle, *Ethiques of Aristotle*, B7^{v}.
8. Lines, "Aristotle's *Ethics* in the Renaissance," 171–93.
9. Aristotle, *Ethiques of Aristotle,* G7^{v}–G8.
10. Aristotle, L2.

11. Aristotle, L1^{v}.

12. Kingdon, *Richard Grafton*, 52–54: as he relinquished his royal imprimatur with the death of Edward VI in 1553, "M[aster] Grafton, printer" was named treasurer general to the royal hospitals, including Bridewell, on whose behalf he had already been working for a number of years; "in every officially recorded stage of the proceedings when names are given, Grafton's is found among them," Kingdon shows. *ODNB*, "Grafton, Richard (1506/7–1573), printer and historian," nevertheless makes no note of Grafton's involvement at Bridewell.

13. Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, 72–87.

14. Weber, *Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*.

15. Halpern, *Poetics of Primitive Accumulation*, 26.

16. Halpern, 30.

17. Bowen, *Extracts from the records and court books*, Appendix 4, "Ordinances and rules, drawn out for the government of the house of Bridewell, 1557," 11–14, 9.

18. Bowen, Appendix 4, 9.

19. Grafton, *An abridgement*, fol. 148^{v}, 149. CLC/210/B/001/MS12806/001, fol. 4.

20. Grafton, 149.

21. Grafton, 149.

22. Grafton, 149.

23. Stow, *A summarye of the chronicles*, fol. 365.

24. Grafton, *An abridgement*, 149. Grafton, *A chronicle at large* (1569), fol. 1321, relates the common story of the sermon delivered by Bishop Ridley that convinced the king to donate the property, in part because he had been "so well treyned and brought up in al Godly knowledge . . . by his vertous and learned Scholemaisters" and "was so carefull of the good government of the realme." Grafton's perspective becomes more pronounced as he reports secondhand from Ridley himself what transpired between the preacher and the king in their private audience, commenting even on his own familiarity with Ridley's habits of speech. By contrast, Grafton, *A manuell of the Chronicles* (1565), M4, condensed the foundation of the hospitals to a single sentence.

25. Grafton, *A chronicle at large*, fol. 6.

26. Kastan, "Opening Gates and Stopping Hedges," 75, 73, suggests confessional differences underwrite the animosity between the two men.

27. Kastan, 75.

28. Grafton, *An abridgement*, B2–B2^{v}.

29. Stow, *A summary* (1567), A4^{r}–A4^{v}.

30. Stow, *A summary* (1565), fol. 248^{v}. Stow, *A summary* (1567), A5.

31. *Christ's Hospital: Four Hundred Years Old*, 67; this account of Grafton's "dogged persistence" is signed by the initials "H.L.O.F." Lempiere, *John Howes' MS 1582*, 70. O'Donoghue, *Bridewell Hospital*, 160. Kingdon, *Richard Grafton*, 54.

32. London Archives, CLC/210/C/001/MS12819/001, "Treasurer's Account Book 1552–1558," fol. 65.

33. Grafton, *A chronicle at large* (1569), 5^{v}.

34. Halpern, *Poetics of Primitive Accumulation*, 30.

35. *ODNB*, "Grafton, Richard"; Manzione, *Christ's Hospital of London*, 37.

36. *The primer set foorth*; *A very pleasuant and fruitful diologe called the Epicure*.

37. Reprinted in Allan, *Christ's Hospital*, 18.

38. Grafton, *The Culture of Correction in Renaissance Europe*; see also Grafton and Jardine, "'Studied for Action,'" 30–78, and the recent edited collection *Gabriel Harvey and the History*

of Reading. Smyth, *Material Texts in Early Modern England*; Lerer, *Error and the Academic Self*; Wakelin, *Humanism, Reading, and English Literature*; also *Scribal Correction and Literary Craft*.

39. Grafton, *A manuell*, A2^{r}–A2^{v}.

40. Grafton, A2^{r}–A2^{v}.

41. Grafton, *Graftons abridgement* (1570), para. 4.

42. Grafton, *A manuell*, A2^{r}–A2^{v}.

43. Grafton, *Culture of Correction in Renaissance Europe*, 8.

44. Grafton, 8, 37.

45. Voet, *Golden Compasses*, vol. 2, 186–87. Sherry, *A treatise of the figures of grammer and rhetorike*, R3^{v}, offers an evocative image of correction: "In Nightingales, we perceive the offices of the techer and learner, how the elder goth before, calleth backe, and correcteth, and howe the yonger foloweth and obeyeth."

46. Sidney, *An apologie for poetrie*, A3^{v}–B; the errata in Olney's printing are titled "Faultes escaped, thus corrected," for example.

47. Smyth, *Material Texts*, 84; Smyth emphasizes the labile and often ironic effects of correction, as well as their use in creating and transmitting literary significance.

48. Smyth, *Material Texts*; Grafton, *Culture of Correction in Renaissance Europe*.

49. Grafton, *Graftons abridgement* (1570), para. 5^{v}.

50. London Archives, CLC/210/D/026/001, iv.

51. Wilson, *The arte of rhetorique*, Bb4.

52. Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses," 85–126, especially 115–20.

53. Wilson, *The rule of reason*, X6.

54. Grafton, *A Chronicle at large*, endpapers.

55. See especially Blair, "*Errata* Lists and the Reader as Corrector"; also Smyth, *Material Texts*, 95–96.

56. Grafton, *A chronicle at large*, endpapers.

57. Compare Smyth, *Material Texts*, 91, 75–126.

58. Grafton, *An abridgement*, B5^{v}.

59. Grafton is often responding to Stow; on their rivalry, consider Kastan, "Opening Gates and Stopping Hedges"; and Devereaux, "Empty Tuns and Unfruitful Grafts."

60. Halpern, *Poetics of Primitive Accumulation*, 45.

61. Halpern, 45.

62. Halpern, 45.

63. CLC/210/B/001/MS12806/001, fol. 4.

64. CLC/210/B/001/MS12806/001, fol. 13.

65. CLC/210/B/001/MS12806/001, fol. 10: "At a courte holden the 11th of Octobre, 1557 in the presence of . . . M[aster] Grafton . . ."

66. CLC/210/B/001/MS12806/001, fol. 14: "At a Courte holden the 23d of May 1558 in the presence of . . . M[aster] Grafton . . ."

67. Griffiths, *Lost Londons*, 261, provides a grim reminder of the mortality rates as well: "733 of them deade."

68. Allan, *Christ's Hospital*, 18. Stone, "The Educational Revolution in England," 43, points out that rural petty schools sometimes included education for girls as well.

69. Stone, "The Educational Revolution in England."

70. Cressy, "Educational Opportunity in Tudor and Stuart England," 303; Wrightson, *English Society, 1580–1680*, 194.

71. Halpern, *Poetics of Primitive Accumulation*, 77.
72. Halpern, 78.
73. Quoted in Kingdon, *Richard Grafton*, 75. For more on this episode, see Hamann, "Clarification of Some Obscurities."
74. Noorthouck, "Addenda," 874–86.
75. "The Order of the Hospitalls of [Henry VIII and Edward VI, 1557]."
76. Tawney, *Tudor Economic Documents*, 433.
77. *Howes 1587*, 433.
78. *Howes 1587*, 433.
79. *Howes 1587*, 433.
80. *Howes 1587*, 433.
81. *Howes 1587*, 433.
82. *Howes 1587*, 433.
83. *Howes 1587*, 435.
84. *Howes 1587*, 435.
85. Manzione, *Christ's Hospital of London*, 49.
86. Manzione, 49.
87. Blunden et al., *Christ's Hospital Book*, 7.
88. CLC/210/B/001/MS12806/001, fol. 12.
89. *Howes 1587*, 435.
90. *Howes 1587*, 435.
91. *Howes 1587*, 435.
92. *Howes 1587*, 435.
93. *Howes 1587*, 435.
94. *Howes 1587*, 435.
95. Halpern, *Poetics of Primitive Accumulation*, 85–100; *Howes 1587*, 435.
96. *Howes 1587*, 435.
97. *Howes 1587*, 435.
98. *Howes 1587*, 436.
99. *Howes 1587*, 436.
100. *Howes 1587*, 436.
101. Mulcaster, *The first part of the elementarie*, G4.
102. Pearce, *Annals of Christ's Hospital*, 147.
103. Lempriere, *A History of the Girls' School*, 5.
104. Lempriere, 1.
105. Lempriere, 5.
106. *Howes 1587*, 436.
107. *Howes 1587*, 436.
108. *Howes 1587*, 436.
109. *Howes 1587*, 436.
110. London Archives, CLC/210/C/001/MS12819/005.
111. Quoted in Lempriere, *A History of the Girls' School*, 6.
112. CLC/210/B/001/MS12806/004, fol.8; Pearce, *Annals*, 154.
113. CLC/210/B/001/MS12806/004, fol.8; Pearce, *Annals*, 154.
114. Pearce, *Annals*, 146. Halpern, *Poetics of Primitive Accumulation*, 83, notes that the itinerant writing master was himself a figure in the discourse of vagrancy that an institution such as Christ's Hospital aimed to fix in place.

115. CLC/210/B/001/MS12806/003, fol. 103.

116. CLC/210/B/001/MS12806/003, fol. 103.

117. *Howes 1582*, 39.

118. *Howes 1582*, 40.

119. Ascham, *The Scholemaster*, B^{v}.

120. Ascham, C3; Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage*, 163–64; Halpern, *Poetics of Primitive Accumulation*, 26–28, 35.

121. Ascham, *The Scholemaster*, C3.

122. Ong, "Latin Language Study as Renaissance Puberty Rite," 111.

123. Mulcaster, *Positions . . . necessarie for the training up of children*, Mm3.

124. Proverbs 13:23, Geneva Bible 1599.

125. Proverbs 12:1, Geneva Bible 1599.

126. Proverbs 12:1, *The Holie Bible*, fol. 54^{v}.

127. Proverbs 22:15, King James Bible, 1611.

128. Cranmer et al., *Certayne sermans, or homelies*, L2^{v}–L3. Compare Foucault, *Essential Works of Michel Foucault, 1954–1984*, 333–36 (from "The Subject and Power"), 300–11.

129. Enterline, *Shakespeare's Schoolroom*, 17. Bushnell, *A Culture of Teaching*, 22, points out that the ferular or the bundle of birch twigs used as disciplinary switches was an essential part of the visual iconography of the early modern schoolmaster. See also Ong, "Latin Language Study," 112.

130. Ascham, *The Scholemaster*, C3.

131. Brinsely, *Ludus literarius, or, the grammar school*, 1612, title page, H. Rhodes, "The Controversial Plot," 609–22, 613n18.

132. Brinsley, *Ludus literarius*, B. See headnote to "John Brinsley, *Ludus literarius* (1612)," in *The Memory Arts in Renaissance England*, 163.

133. Brinsley, *Ludus literarius*, H.

134. Brinsley, H.

135. Brinsley, H.

136. Halpern, *Poetics of Primitive Accumulation*, 91.

137. Brinsley, *Ludus literarius*, V2^{v}.

138. Brinsley, V2^{v}.

139. Brinsley, Y3.

140. Brinsley, Y3.

141. Brinsely, O3.

142. Brinsely, O3.

143. Brinsely, O2^{v}.

144. Foucault, "Self Writing," 209.

145. Foucault, 209.

146. Brinsley, *Ludus literarius*, O2^{v}–P.

147. Brinsley, O2^{v}–P.

148. Brinsley, O2^{v}–P2.

149. Brinsley, P2.

150. Brinsley, P2.

151. Brinsley, P2^{v}.

152. Brinsley, P2^{v}.

153. Mulcaster, *Positions*, Mm4.

154. Mulcaster, Mm4.

155. Brinsley, *Ludus literarius*, P2ᵛ.
156. Brinsley, Ppᵛ.
157. Brinsley, Pp2.
158. Brinsley, Pp2.
159. Quoted in Bushnell, *A Culture of Teaching*, 31.
160. Bushnell, 75.
161. Matthew 7:2, King James Version (1611).
162. Brinsley, *Ludus literarius*, P2.
163. Brinsley, P3ᵛ.
164. Brinsley, P3ᵛ.
165. Brinsley, P3ᵛ.
166. Brinsley, P3ᵛ.
167. Brinsley, P3ᵛ.
168. Brinsley, P3ᵛ.
169. Brinsley, P3ᵛ.
170. Bushnell, *A Culture of Teaching*, 44.
171. Mulcaster, *Positions*, NN2.
172. Mulcaster, NN2.
173. CLC/210/B/001/MS12806/001, fol. 4.
174. *Howes 1582*, 70; compare O'Donoghue, *Bridewell Hospital*, 160.
175. BCB-01, fol. 206 / 446.
176. BCB-01 fol. 82 /196.
177. BCB-01 fol. 82 /196.
178. BCB-91, fol. 75 / 182.
179. BCB-01, fol. 128v / 291.
180. BCB-01, fol. 128v / 291.
181. Hubbard, *City Women*, 96–97.
182. BCB-01, fol. 209 / 452.
183. BCB-01, fol. 145ᵛ / 325.
184. BCB-01, fol. 145ᵛ 325.
185. BCB-01, fol. 145ᵛ /325.
186. BCB-01, fol. 145ᵛ /325.
187. BCB-01, fol. 88ᵛ / 209.
188. BCB-01, fol. 88ᵛ / 209.
189. BCB-01, fol. 214ᵛ / 463.
190. Gowing, *Domestic Dangers*, 274.
191. BCB-01, fol. 203 / 440.
192. BCB-01, fol. 203 / 440.
193. BCB-01, fol. 208ᵛ / 451.
194. BCB-01, fol. 211ᵛ /457.
195. BCB-01, fol. 213ᵛ / 461.
196. BCB-01, fol. 213ᵛ / 461.
197. BCB 01, fol. 213ᵛ.
198. BCB-01, fol. 145ᵛ / 325. BCB-01, fol. 67 /166.
199. BCB-01, fol. 95 / 222.
200. BCB-01, fol. 214 / 462.
201. BCB 01, fol. 213ᵛ / 461.
202. BCB 01, fol. 206 /

203. BCB 01, fol. 213^{v} / 461.
204. BCB 01, fol. 213^{v} / 461.
205. BCB-01, fol. 197 / 428.
206. BCB-01, fol. 214 / 462.
207. BCB-01, fol. 214 / 462.
208. Griffiths, *Lost Londons*, 18.
209. Bowen, *Extracts*, Appendix 2, 4.
210. BCB-01, fol. 185 / 404.
211. BCB-01, fol. 185 / 404.
212. CLC/210/B/001/MS12806/001, fol. 13.
213. CLC/210/B/001/MS12806/001, fol. 13.
214. CLC/210/B/001/MS12806/001, fol. 13.
215. CLC/210/B/001/MS12806/001, fol. 13.
216. CLC/210/B/001/MS12806/001, fol. 11.
217. BCB-01, fol. 137^{v} / 308–138 / 309.
218. BCB-01, fol. 137v / 308–138r / 309.
219. BCB-01, fol. 137v / 308–138r / 309.
220. BCB-01, fol. 128 / 290.
221. BCB-01, fol. 1 / 34.
222. BCB-01, fol. 1 / 34.
223. BCB-01, fol. 13^{v} / 39.
224. BCB-01, fol. 57v / 147.
225. BCB-01, fol. 24v / 81.
226. BCB-01, fol. 221^{v} / 477.
227. BCB-01, fol. 221^{v} / 477.
228. BCB-01, fol. 222 / 478.
229. *Howes 1587*, 438–39; see introduction.
230. *The second tome of homilees . . .* fol. 497.
231. Aristotle, *Nichomachean Ethics*, 21.
232. Aristotle, *Ethiques of Aristotle*, B4^{v}–B5.
233. Aristotle, B5^{v}–B6.
234. Aristotle, B5^{v}–B6.
235. Aristotle, D^{v}, D2.
236. Aristotle, D^{v}, D2.
237. Halpern, *Poetics of Primitive Accumulation*, 28.
238. Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England*, 166.
239. Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, 83.
240. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 297.
241. Foucault, 297.
242. Halpern, *Poetics of Primitive Accumulation*, 26. BCB-01, fol. 1 / 34.
243. Aristotle, *Ethiques of Aristotle*, G7^{v}–G8.

CHAPTER 3

Note to epigraph. Taylor et al., eds., *The New Oxford Shakespeare: Critical Reference Edition, vol. 2*, "MEASVRE, For Measure," 1711–1792, 1760 or 3.1.268–274. Hereafter cited as [*Measure for Measure*] by act, scene, and line number.

1. Dyson and Gadd, "Excavations," 2, 5, 17. See also Killock et al., "Bridewell Revisited," 163.

2. Dyson and Gadd, "Excavations," 2.

3. Stow, *A Survey of London*, 21–27.

4. Strype et al., *Survey of London*, 263.

5. Dyson and Gadd, "Excavations," 4; Killock, "Bridewell Revisited," 163–64; Smith, *Shakespeare's Blackfriars Playhouse*, 66; Dustagheer, *Shakespeare's Two Playhouses*, 12–13, 142.

6. Cohen, "The Most Convenient Place," 210. Smith, *Shakespeare's Blackfriars*; Sanders, "In the Friars," 19–33.

7. Prynne, *Histrio-mastix*, fol. 496.

8. Quoted in Carroll, *Fat King, Lean Beggar*, 45.

9. *ODNB*, "Kyd, Thomas (bap. 1558, d. 1594), playwright and translator." Carroll, *Fat King, Lean Beggar*, 119.

10. Sanders, "In the Friars," 27.

11. British Library Egerton MS 1787, "Shakespeare's signature on the mortgage of the Blackfriars Gate-House . . . 11 March 1612/13," recto.

12. Dustagheer, *Shakespeare's Two Playhouses*, Chapter 4, "Haunted Space," 139–69, argues "a stronger case than has previously been made for the play's performance at the Blackfriars." Bourus and Taylor, "Performance-Testing the Adaptation Hypothesis," 363–401, discusses *Measure for Measure* and Middleton's potential adaption.

13. Armstrong, *Radical Aesthetic*, 79–80.

14. Armstrong, 79–80.

15. Armstrong, 232.

16. Armstrong, 232.

17. Armstrong, 232.

18. Green, *A refutation of the Apology for actors*, H2^{v}.

19. *Howes 1582*, 11, 14.

20. London Archives, CLC/210/D/026/002, 1. This epistle was left out of R. H. Tawney's transcription in *Tudor Economic Documents*, 421–44.

21. CLC/210/D/026/002, 1. In this regard, Howes was inaugurating a recurring tradition in the history of Christ's Hospital and Bridewell, which includes Samuel Pepys's 1697–99 investigations into the origins and practices of the schools at Christ's Hospital; see the London Archives, CLA/067/02/003.

22. CLC/210/D/026/002, 1.

23. CLC/210/D/026/002, 2.

24. *Howes 1582*, 46.

25. *Howes 1582*, 46.

26. *Howes 1582*, 47.

27. *Howes 1582*, 47.

28. *Howes 1582*, 54.

29. *Howes 1582*, 48.

30. *Howes 1582*, 57.

31. *Howes 1582*, 11.

32. MUN-01, fol. 53–60; also "Translation of the Letters Patent of Edward the Sixth for Christ's, Bridewell, and St. Thomas's Hospital, 26 June, 7 Edward VI., 1553," in *Memoranda, References, and Documents relating to the Royal Hospitals*, 59–71.

33. "Indenture of Covenants," 52–53.

34. Kingsford, *A Survey of London*, 356–74, note to page 43.

35. Dekker, *The second part of The honest whore*, I3^{v}.

36. MUN-01, fol. 60.

37. Mullaney, *Place of the Stage*.

38. Baker, *Oxford History of the Laws of England*, vol. 1, 55.

39. Gildersleeve, *Government Regulations of Elizabethan Drama*, 140.

40. Mullaney, *Place of the Stage*, 22.

41. Cormack, "*The Comedy of Errors* and Revels Jurisdiction," 268.

42. Cormack, 268.

43. Mullaney, "Shakespeare and the Liberties."

44. MUN-01, 61–62. *OED*, s.v., "assay, *n*.," "warren, *n*.,": "Assay" is here almost synonymous with assize; it is the action of putting to trial in general. A "free warren" was the right (bestowed by the Crown) to keep and hunt animals on a given piece of property.

45. *OED*, "court leet, *n*."

46. *OED*, "frank-pledge, *n*."

47. *OED*, "disseise/disseize, *v*."

48. Dekker, *The second part of The Honest Whore*, I3^{v}.

49. Dekker, I3^{v}.

50. Dekker, I3^{v}.

51. Griffiths, *Lost Londons*, 220; Bacon et al., "A Discourse," in *The Oxford Francis Bacon*, vol. 1, 51–60.

52. Bacon et al., "A Discourse," 52.

53. Bacon et al., 52.

54. Bacon et al., 55.

55. Baker, *An Introduction to English Legal History*, 472.

56. Bacon et al., "A Discourse," 62.

57. Bacon et al., 59.

58. Bacon et al., 60.

59. Ellis et al., *Works of Francis Bacon*, 516.

60. Griffiths, *Lost Londons*, 226.

61. Bacon et al., "A Discourse," 60.

62. Bacon, 52.

63. Cormack, "*The Comedy of Errors* and Revels Jurisdiction," 268.

64. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 172.

65. Turner, *English Renaissance Stage*, 157; Gurr, *Shakespeare Company, 1594–1642*; Van Es, *Shakespeare in Company*, 234.

66. Cohen, "The Most Convenient Place," 210.

67. Dustagheer, *Shakespeare's Two Playhouses*, 17–18, 31–49.

68. *Howes 1582*, 61; Hinkle, *History of Bridewell Prison*, 59.

69. Hinkle, *A History of Bridewell*, 61; Pringle, "The Founder of English Viol-Making," 501–11.

70. Lenton, *The young gallants whirligig*, C4^{v}.

71. Hartman, "Shakespeare's Poetical Character in *Twelfth Night*," 37–55.

72. Ichikawa, *The Shakespearean Stage Space*, 29.

73. Taylor et al., *NOSCRE,* vol. 2, 2205 or 4.2.29–32.

74. *OED*, "barricado, *n*."

75. Ungerer, "Prostitution in Late Medieval England," 141–42, argues that *Twelfth Night*'s allusions to London sex workers are made to women associated with Bridewell and the scandals of 1602.

76. Ellwood, *History*, 193; O'Donoghue, *Bridewell Hospital*, 155; Griffiths, *Lost Londons*, 275.

77. Stern, "Theatre as Prop," 22.

78. Kemp, *Kemps nine daies wonder*, B1.

79. Stern, "Theatre as Prop," 12; Taylor et al., *NOSCRE*, vol. 1, 1305 or 3.7.51.

80. Knoppers, "(En)gendering Shame," 458–59.

81. Hervey, *Holbein's "Ambassadors"*, 67; Foister et al., *Holbein's Ambassadors*; consider the contrast with the emerald-green brocade that (mostly) covers those walls in Holbein's masterpiece, painted in Bridewell Palace in the spring of 1533. Ellwood, *History*, L2; Carroll, *Fat King, Lean Beggar*, 118.

82. Stern, "Theatre as Prop,'" 12.

83. Turner, *English Renaissance Stage*, 35, 38.

84. Stern, "Theatre as Prop," 23.

85. Dustagheer, *Shakespeare's Two Playhouses*, 139–69.

86. *Howes 1582*, 56–57.

87. Taylor et al., *NOSCRE*, vol. 2, 2747, cited hereafter as [*All Is True*] by act, scene, and line number.

88. [*All Is True*], 2.4.3.

89. [*All Is True*], 2.4.6–8.

90. [*All Is True*], 5.1.164–8: In the final act this joke is confirmed by the king's interaction with the midwife, perhaps the only truly funny moment in the play: "Is the Queen delivered?" he asks her, and tells her how to answer: "Say, 'Ay, and of a boy.'"

91. Cormack, "Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, and the Life of Legal Documents," 44–71.

92. Quoted in Bosman, "Truth and Sense in *All Is True*," 459.

93. [*All Is True*], 2.4.11.

94. [*All Is True*], 2745.

95. [*All Is True*], 2.4.123–130.

96. Holinshed, *Chronicles* (1587) fol. 907: "The king being advertised that shee was readie to go out of the house, the queene departing on . . . of the court is called againe . . . commanded the crier to call hir againe, who called hir by these words; Katharine queene of England, come into the court. With that (quoth maister Griffith) Madame, you be called againe. On on (quoth she) it maketh no matter, I will not tarrie, go on your waies. And thus she departed, without anie further answer at that time, or anie other, and never would appeare after in anie court."

97. [*All Is True*], 2.4.128–30.

98. [*All Is True*], 2.2.136–38.

99. Holinshed, *Chronicles*, 908.

100. Holinshed, 908.

101. Holinshed, 908.

102. [*All Is True*], 3.1.17–27, 3.1.28–30.

103. [*All Is True*], 3.1.59, 88, 104, 154; 3.1.55, 110, 157; 3.1.147. Compare Halio, *Oxford Shakespeare: King Henry VIII*, 139–46.

104. [*All Is True*], 3.1. 142–51.

105. [*All Is True*], 3.1.2; 3.1.72–74.

106. Ungerer, "Prostitution in Late Medieval England," 181.

107. [*All Is True*], 2.2.130.

108. Bosman, "Seeing Tears"; Cohen, "The Most Convenient Place," 221–22.

109. [*All Is True*], 3.1.16; 4.2.37.

110. [*All Is True*], 2.4-131–40.

111. Hutson, *Circumstantial Shakespeare*.

112. [*All Is True*], 4.1.96–101.

113. [*All Is True*], 4.1. 96–101.

114. [*All Is True*], 4.1.100–101.

115. [*All Is True*], 3.2.351–73.

116. [*All Is True*], 4.2.45–46.

117. [*All Is True*], 2.1.75, 128–31.

118. [*All Is True*], 2.1.75, 128–31.

119. [*All Is True*], 2.1.174.

120. Dyson and Gadd, "Excavations," 11–12, 20, 54.

121. *Howes 1582*, 45.

122. *OED*, "fleet, n.2": "A place where water flows" as well as "a run of water, flowing into the Thames between Ludgate Hill and Fleet street . . ." from Old English *fleot*, *fleotan*, to float, drift, swim, sail.

123. Howard, *Theatre of a City*, 72; Carroll, *Fat King, Lean Beggar*, 114; Salkeld, *Shakespeare Among the Courtesans*, Chapter 1 at n36.

124. Bourus and Taylor, "Performance-Testing the Adaptation Hypothesis," 363–401.

125. McLuskie, "The Patriarchal Bard."

126. [*Measure for Measure*], 1.4.1–4.

127. McLuskie, "Patriarchal Bard," 97.

128. Knoppers, "(En)gendering Shame," 471.

129. Knoppers, 471.

130. Salkeld, *Shakespeare Among the Courtesans*, Chapter 1 at n36. Also *Shakespeare and London*, 80–88, 100–104.

131. Griffiths, "Contesting London Bridewell, 1576–1580," 283–315, offers a thorough account of this episode. Taylor et al., *NOSCRE*, vol. 2, 1712. Higgins, "Justice, Mercy, and Dialectical Genres," 258–93.

132. Taylor et al., *NOS:AC*, 554.

133. Griffiths, *Lost Londons*, 228–29; Taylor et al., *NOSCRE*, vol. 2, 2743, 1711; adaptation arguments summarized in Taylor et al., *NOS:AC*, 556–57.

134. Salkeld, *Shakespeare Among the Courtesans*, Chapter 1 at n36.

135. Bourus and Taylor, "Performance-Testing the Adaptation Hypothesis," 363–401; Taylor et al., *NOSCRE*, vol. 2, 1716.

136. Bourus and Taylor, "Performance-Testing the Adaptation Hypothesis," 363–401; Taylor et al., *NOSCRE*, vol. 2, 1716.

137. Bridewell's court book entries for July 29, August 4, September 11, and October 16, 1602, have been reproduced in Bowen, *Extracts from the Records and Court Books*, 27. Compare Carroll, *Fat King, Lean Beggar*, 57–59. Ungerer's overview of this episode is the most detailed: See "The Bridewell Scandal of 1602," in "Prostitution in Late Elizabethan England," 182 onward. See also Salkeld, "Literary Traces"; *Shakespeare and London*, 83–86, 97–104.

138. *Howes 1582*, 72; Carroll, *Fat King, Lean Beggar*, 112–14; Griffiths, *Lost Londons*, 213–17.

139. [*Measure for Measure*], 2.2.122. BCB-04, fol. 313^{v} / 627–314^{v} / 628 includes the twelve-item list of accusations against the contractors.

140. BCB-04, fol. 314 / 628. Ungerer, "Prostitution in Late Elizabethan England," 186; compare Carroll, *Fat King, Lean Beggar*, 58; Griffiths, *Lost Londons*, 221.

141. BCB-04, fol. 314 / 628.

142. BCB-04, fol. 315, session held on 11 August 1602.

143. Ungerer, "Prostitution in Late Elizabethan England," 188; Griffiths, *Lost Londons*, 221.

144. BCB-04, fol. 314 / 628.

145. BCB-04, fol. 314 / 628.

146. BCB-04, fol. 314 / 628.

147. Ungerer, "Prostitution in Late Elizabethan England," 183–84, has located one credible source (besides the pamphlets) in a biographical note, appended to an unpublished "Letter to Sir Edward Wingfield, Knt, from Thomas Stanley, a notable Thefe, whoe broke the Castell of Cambridge & departed from the same with 6 more of his Companions 4. June Anno xxxix [1597] in the Tyme of Anthony Cage, esquire, Sherife," which is written in a different hand from the rest of the sensational manuscript, and discloses that "after much Serche" Stanley was captured in Worcestershire and taken to Newgate prison in London. He was condemned to be hanged but was then "by the means of the Lord Chefe Justice pardoned & by hym preferred to be one of the Overseers or Maysters of Bridwell." British Library Add. MS. 5821, fol. 207–10.

148. *Stanleyes Remedy*, A1v. Ungerer, "Prostitution in Late Elizabethan England," 219n167.

149. Folger Library, V.b.210., "Poetical Miscellany [Manuscript], 1604," 57.

150. British Library, Add. MS. 5821, fol. 207–10.

151. *Stanleyes Remedy*, A2; see Ungerer, "Prostitution in Late Elizabethan England," 183–85, for discussion of Popham's motivations.

152. *Stanleyes Remedy*, A4. Stanley is the author of two surviving petitions to Parliament; the first, concerning Bridewell, is undated, but refers to the death of Sir John Popham and the next available Parliament, which would be the 'Addled' Parliament of 1614: *To [. . .] The humble Petition of Thomas Stanley*, STC 23228.5, single sheet. The second petition, dated 1619, is British Library Add. MS. 12496.

153. [*Measure for Measure*], 5.1.425.

154. See Salkeld, "Literary Traces," 382.

155. [*Measure for Measure*], 2.2.168–192, 2.4.1–16.

156. [*Measure for Measure*], 2.2.178, 182–84.

157. [*Measure for Measure*], 2.2. 181–82.

158. [*Measure for Measure*], 2.4.1–16.

159. [*Measure for Measure*], 2.4.5.

160. [*Measure for Measure*], 2.4.3–6.

161. [*Measure for Measure*], 2.4.1–16.

162. [*Measure for Measure*], 1.1.2–14.

163. [*Measure for Measure*], 2.4.9.

164. [*Measure for Measure*], 2.4.11.

165. [*Measure for Measure*], 2.4.13.

166. [*Measure for Measure*], 2.4.13.

167. [*Measure for Measure*], 2.4.11.

168. McLuskie, "Patriarchal Bard," 97.

169. McLuskie, 97.

170. Newborough's story can be found in full in Gustave Ungerer's article "Prostitution in Late Elizabethan England," 138–223. See also Salkeld, *Shakespeare and London*, 80–88, 100–104.

171. BCB-04, fol. 316^{v} / 633.

172. BCB-04, fol. 317^{v} / 635.

173. BCB-04, fol. 317^{v} / 635.
174. BCB-04, fol. 317^{v} / 635.
175. BCB-04, fol. 314 / 628.
176. BCB-04, fol. 314^{v} / 629; BCB-04, fol. 324^{v} / 649—fol. 325 / 650.
177. BCB-04, fol., 346 / 692.
178. BCB-04, fol. 313 / 628.
179. BCB-04, fol. 346 / 692.
180. See Ungerer for extended description, "Prostitution in Late Elizabethan England," 194.
181. [*Measure for Measure*], 1.3.27–28.
182. BCB-04, fol. 327^{v} / 655. See Salkeld, "Literary Traces"; and *Shakespeare and London*, 83–86, for discussion of this incident.
183. BCB-04, fol. 327^{v} / 655.
184. BCB-04, fol. 327^{v} / 655.
185. BCB-04, fol. 327^{v} / 655.
186. BCB-04, fol. 327^{v} / 655.
187. BCB-04, fol. 330 / 660; BCB-04, 332 / 664.
188. BCB-04, 332 / 664. *ODNB*, "Beeston [Hutchinson], Christopher (1579/80–1638), actor and theatre impresario." Ungerer, "Prostitution in Late Elizabethan England," explores connections to *Twelfth Night*, 195–200.
189. BCB-04, 332 / 664.
190. BCB-04, 332 / 664.
191. [*Measure for Measure*], 2.4.169–70.
192. BCB-04, 332 / 664.
193. [*Measure for Measure*], 1.2.53–54.
194. [*Measure for Measure*], 2.3.28–29.
195. [*Measure for Measure*], 2.3.30.
196. [*Measure for Measure*], 3.1.81.
197. [*Measure for Measure*], 3.1.118.
198. [*Measure for Measure*], 3.1.117–24.
199. [*Measure for Measure*], 3.1.118.
200. Salkeld, *Shakespeare Among the Courtesans*, Chapter 1 at n36.
201. [*Measure for Measure*], 1.4.29.
202. Knoppers, "(En)gendering Shame," 471.
203. Stern, "Theatre as Prop," 20.
204. Palfrey and Stern, *Shakespeare in Parts*, 452.
205. Armstrong, 79–80.
206. [*Measure for Measure*], 3.1.273.
207. [*Measure for Measure*], 3.1.268.
208. [*Measure for Measure*], 3.1.272-4.
209. [*Measure for Measure*], 3.1.275-8.
210. [*Measure for Measure*], 3.1.278-80.
211. [*Measure for Measure*], 1761, n. 3.1.279.
212. [*Measure for Measure*], 1761, n. 3.1.279.
213. [*Measure for Measure*], 1.1.11. Green, *A refutation of the Apology for actors*, H2^{v}.
214. Green, H2^{v}.
215. Green, H2^{v}.

CHAPTER 4

1. Festa, "Metaphysics of Labor," 85.

2. Festa, 83. Bald, *John Donne*, 435–36.

3. Festa, "Metaphysics of Labor," 78.

4. Donne, "A sermon Preached to the Honorable Company of the Virginian Plantation. 13 November 1622," in *The Sermons of John Donne*, vol. 4, no. 10; the sermon was also printed immediately in its own day: *Sermon Preach'd to the Honourable Company of the Virginian Plantation*, D2.

5. Festa, "Metaphysics of Labor," 94.

6. Ransom HX 811, front flyleaves.

7. Donne, *Preach'd to the Honourable Company of the Virginian Plantation*, D2.

8. Petty, *A treatise of taxes and contributions*, H.

9. Goetz, *Baptism of Early Virginia*, 46.

10. BCB-05, fol. 220 / 468. Griffiths, *Lost Londons*, 284–90; Coldham, *Emigrants in Chains*, 1–3; *Records of the Virginia Company*, vol. 1, ed. Kingsbury, entry for December 23, 1619; 288–89; see also Donoghue, *Fire Under the Ashes*, 22–27.

11. *Virginia's God be thanked . . . Preached . . . before the Honorable Virginia Company, on Thursday, the 18. of Aprill 1622*, 34.

12. Griffiths, "Contesting London Bridewell," provides a succinct overview.

13. Sharpe, *Crime in Early Modern England*, 260.

14. *The Comedy of Errors* is usually considered the other example. Consider Garber, *Shakespeare After All*, 862, or Greenblatt's introduction in *The Norton Shakespeare: Volume 2: Later Plays*, 1323; also Kastan, "Dynastic Politics in *The Tempest*," 91.

15. Taylor et al., *The New Oxford Shakespeare*, Vol. 2, "The Tempest," 1517–80, 1532: act 1, scene 1, line 22; hereafter cited as [*The Tempest*] by act, scene, and line number.

16. [*The Tempest*], 1.2.237–40.

17. [*The Tempest*], 1.2.237–40.

18. [*The Tempest*], 1.2.237–40.

19. [*The Tempest*], 5.1.136–37.

20. [*The Tempest*], 5.1.186, 5.1.223.

21. [*The Tempest*], 5.1.2–3.

22. [*The Tempest*], 5.1.4.

23. [*The Tempest*], 1.2.53.

24. [*The Tempest*], 1.2.37–38, 50.

25. [*The Tempest*], 1.2.38.

26. Greenblatt, "*The Tempest* (Introduction)," in *The Norton Shakespeare*, 1323.

27. *OED*, "tempest, n.," accessed online.

28. Kastan, "Dynastic Politics in *The Tempest*," 91, points out that the new historicist "reassert[ion]" of colonial contexts was not so new. Consider Malone, *An account of the incidents*.

29. Consider Greenblatt's widely read essay "Martial Law in the Land of Cockaigne" in *Shakespearean Negotiations*, 129–63. Paul Brown's essay "'This thing of darkness I acknowledge mine': *The Tempest* and the Discourse of Colonialism," appears in *Political Shakespeare*, 48–71. Kim F. Hall's *Things of Darkness* takes its title from the play and focuses on the threat of interracial desire in *The Tempest*, 141–53. Patricia Akhimie's recent essay "Pinching Caliban," 269–93, brings out the colonial methods used to shape the behaviors, bodies, and racialized identities of the play's characters.

30. Kastan, "Dynastic Politics in *The Tempest*," 91–103; Skura, "Discourse and the Individual," 42–69.

31. Kastan, "Dynastic Politics in *The Tempest*," 94.

32. Skura, "Discourse and the Individual," 47; emphasis in original.

33. [*The Tempest*], 1.2.239, 4.1.33.

34. [*The Tempest*], 1.2.241–48.

35. [*The Tempest*], 1.2.245.

36. [*The Tempest*], 1.2.278–79.

37. [*The Tempest*], 1.2.295–96.

38. [*The Tempest*], 1.2.299–300, 1.2.420–21.

39. Gillies, "Shakespeare's Virginian Masque," 219.

40. Griffiths, *Lost Londons*, 284–90; Donoghue, *Fire Under the Ashes*, 22–27; Suranyi, "Indenture, Transportation, and Spiriting," 132–59.

41. Gurr, "*The Tempest*'s Tempest at Blackfriars," 251: "*The Tempest* was the first play Shakespeare unquestionably wrote for the Blackfriars rather than the Globe." The significance of the play's recorded performances at court are also difficult to dispute; first on Hallowmas in 1611 and then in 1613 for the marriage of Princess Elizabeth to Frederick, the Elector Palatine of Bohemia. See Kastan, "Dynastic Politics in *The Tempest*," for the latter and Bender, "The Day of *The Tempest*," on the former.

42. Guffey, *After* The Tempest, viii.

43. Guffey, ix.

44. Duffet, *The Mock-Tempest*, facsimile reprinted in Guffey, *After* The Tempest, A4^{v}.

45. Scarry, *Resisting Representation*, 65.

46. [*The Tempest*], 5.1.61.

47. Kastan, "Dynastic Politics in *The Tempest*," 94.

48. For a national overview, Innes, "Prisons for the Poor," remains extremely useful and succinct; see 62, 94. Hindle offers insights into the uneven implementation of these programs: *The State and Social Change in Early Modern England*, 164–69. On wider developments in penology, consider Sharpe, *Crime in Early Modern England*, 256–59; Spierenburg, "Four Centuries of Prison History," 23–25; Gorski, *The Disciplinary Revolution*, 25.

49. Spierenburg, "Four Centuries of Prison History," 17–35, 24; Gorski, *The Disciplinary Revolution*, 25. Foucault, *History of Madness*, 53–55; *Discipline and Punish*, 7, 121.

50. Sharpe, *Crime in Early Modern England*, 256.

51. More, *Utopia*, D7^{v}–D8.

52. Suranyi, "Indenture, Transportation, and Spiriting," 132–59; Donoghue, *Fire Under the Ashes*, 22–27. Hakluyt, *A discourse concerning western planting*, 36.

53. Hakluyt, "Discourse," 36.

54. Hakluyt, 36–37.

55. Hakluyt, 36–37.

56. Transportation and institutional correction continued to be handed down by the same statutes, confirmed in 1601 (43 Eliz.c.2), 1604 (1 Jac.I.c.6–7), and expanded in 1610 (7 Jac.1.c.7).

57. BCB-05 fol. 222 / 468.

58. Griffiths, *Lost Londons*, 284–90; Coldham, *Emigrants in Chains*, 1–3. Those sent to Virginia "at the first" were "the very scumme of the Land" according to a Company-sponsored sermon: Copland, *Virginia's God be thanked*, 24.

59. Griffiths, *Lost Londons*, 284, 472–73, tables 9a–b. *Records of the Virginia Company*, vol. 1, entry for December 23, 1619; 288–89.

60. See Carroll, *Fat King, Lean Beggar*, 4.

61. *Stanleyes remedy*, A1^{v}; see also Carroll, *Fat King, Lean Beggar*, 55.

62. Carroll, 53–62.
63. Hakluyt, "Discourse," 36–37.
64. Johnson, *Nova Britannia*, D–D^{v}.
65. Rich, *Newes from Virginia*, B2.
66. *Virginia Company Archives*, FP 421, 1368a, "Order of the Privy Council for sending a prisoner in the Marshalsea to Virginia, 4 October 1622."
67. *Virginia Company Archives*, FP 421, 1368a.
68. *A true declaration*, F3.
69. *A true declaration*, F3.
70. *A true declaration*, F3^{r}–F3^{v}.
71. *A true declaration*, F3^{r}–F3v.
72. Quoted in Hailwood, "Time and Work in Rural England," 103.
73. Thompson, "Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism," 61, 77.
74. Hailwood, "Time and Work in Rural England," 110, 106, 108.
75. Hailwood, 121.
76. Guasco, *Slaves and Englishmen*, 172.
77. Greenblatt, *Shakespearean Negotiations*, 158.
78. Crashaw, *A sermon preached in London before . . . the aduenturers in that plantation*, running title: "A New-yeeres Gift to Virginea," H4.
79. Crashaw, "A New-yeeres Gift," H4.
80. Crashaw, H4.
81. Quoted in Carroll, *Fat King, Lean Beggar*, 62.
82. Jonson et al., *Eastward Hoe*, E.
83. Jonson et al., E3^{v}.
84. Jonson et al., E3^{v}.
85. Jonson et al., E^{r}.
86. Jonson et al., E3^{v}.
87. Jonson et al., E3^{v}–E4.
88. Jonson et al., E3^{v}–E4.
89. *A true declaration of the estate of the Colonie*, H4.
90. [*The Tempest*], 2.1.132–35.
91. [*The Tempest*], 2.1.137–44.
92. Kenji Go, "Montaigne's 'Cannibals' and 'The Tempest' Revisited," 455–73.
93. Compare Ezekial 16:49.
94. [*The Tempest*], 2.1.154–55.
95. [*The Tempest*], 2.1.207.
96. *A true declaration*, E3^{r}–E3^{v}.
97. *A true declaration*, E3^{v}.
98. [*The Tempest*], 1.2.237–39.
99. [*The Tempest*], 5.1.4–5.
100. Suranyi, "Indenture, Transportation, and Spiriting," 143; Smith, *Colonists in Bondage*, 229–30.
101. [*The Tempest*], 1.2.347.
102. [*The Tempest*], 2.1.273–75.
103. [*The Tempest*], 2.1.11.
104. Duffet, *The Mock-Tempest*, C2^{v}.
105. Duffet, C2^{v}.

106. Gurr, "*The Tempest*'s Tempest at Blackfriars," 252.

107. Gurr, 252.

108. [*The Tempest*], 5.1.50.

109. [*The Tempest*], 2.2.4, 5.1.61. Akhimie, "Pinching Caliban," 12, reads Caliban's "pinching" and "stripes" within the production of race through stigmatized bodily marks.

110. [*The Tempest*], 1.2.467.

111. [*The Tempest*], 1.2.461; 1.2.469–71.

112. Willis, "Shakespeare's *Tempest* and the Discourse of Colonialism," 280.

113. [*The Tempest*], 5.1.9–11.

114. [*The Tempest*], 5.1.16.

115. [*The Tempest*], 1.2.230–31.

116. [*The Tempest*], 1.2.230–31.

117. [*The Tempest*], 2.1.198–200.

118. [*The Tempest*], 1.2.274–81.

119. [*The Tempest*], 1.2.279.

120. [*The Tempest*], 1.2.466

121. [*The Tempest*], 1.2.487–93.

122. [*The Tempest*], 1.2.490.

123. [*The Tempest*], 1.2.487–93.

124. [*The Tempest*], 3.1.34–35.

125. [*The Tempest*], 3.1.1; 3.1.9–10.

126. [*The Tempest*], 3.1.16–18.

127. [*The Tempest*], 3.1.24–25.

128. [*The Tempest*], 3.1.64–67.

129. [*The Tempest*], 3.1.89–90.

130. [*The Tempest*], 3.1.4–7.

131. [*The Tempest*], 3.1.24.

132. Palfrey and Stern, *Shakespeare in Parts*, 280.

133. [*The Tempest*], 3.1.21–22.

134. [*The Tempest*], 3.1.92.

135. [*The Tempest*], 4.1.1–2.

136. [*The Tempest*], 4.1.141–42.

137. [*The Tempest*], 5.1.172.

138. [*The Tempest*], 5.1.172–75.

139. [*The Tempest*], 3.1.24.

140. [*The Tempest*], 3.1.1–8.

141. [*The Tempest*], 3.1.33.

142. Palfrey and Stern, *Shakespeare in Parts*, 280.

143. See for example Gustav Ungerer's analysis of both work songs and popular ballads about Bridewell inmates within his article "Prostitution in Late Elizabethan England," 138–223.

144. Duffet, *The Mock-Tempest*, D3.

145. Ungerer, "Prostitution in Late Elizabethan England," 194; Carroll, *Fat King, Lean Beggar*, 116.

146. Duffet, *The Mock-Tempest*, C4^{v}.

147. Duffet, C4^{v}.

148. Duffet, D.

149. Duffet, E3^{v}.

150. [*The Tempest*], 1.2.397–404. Duffet, *The Mock-Tempest*, E3^{v}.
151. Hailwood, "Time and Work in Rural England," 99.
152. Sauter, "Clockwatchers and Stargazers," 688.
153. Bender, "The Day of The Tempest," 253.
154. [*The Tempest*], 1.2.403–4.
155. Duffet, *The Mock-Tempest*, H2.
156. Duffet, H2^{v}.
157. Duffet, H2^{v}.
158. Duffet, H2^{v}.
159. Duffet, H3.
160. Duffet, H3^{v}.
161. Duffet, H3^{v}.
162. Donoghue, "'Out of the Land of Bondage,'" 951.
163. Duffet, *The Mock-Tempest*, H3^{v}.
164. Duffet, H3^{r}.
165. BCB-05 fol. 222 / 468.
166. Schept, "Caring Cages," 193; Kilgore, "Repackaging Mass Incarceration."
167. [*The Tempest*], 1.1.25.
168. [*The Tempest*], 1.1.28.
169. Smith, *The generall history of Virginia*, Hh2^{v}.
170. [*The Tempest*], 1.1.36–37.
171. [*The Tempest*], 1.1.51–52.
172. Quoted in Greenblatt, *Shakespearean Negotiations*, 149.
173. Quoted in Greenblatt, 149.
174. [*The Tempest*], Ep. 4, 9–10.
175. [*The Tempest*], Ep. 11–14.
176. [*The Tempest*], Ep. 14.
177. [*The Tempest*], Ep. 19–20.
178. [*The Tempest*], 5.1.316.
179. [*The Tempest*], Ep. 19–20.

CHAPTER 5

1. Blake, *Complete Poems*, 113, note to the "The Voice of the Devil" in "The Marriage of Heaven and Hell": "The reason Milton wrote in fetters when he wrote of angels and God, and at liberty when of devils and Hell, is because he was a true poet, and of the Devil's party without knowing it."
2. Fish, *Surprised by Sin*, 9, 43.
3. Milton, *Areopagitica*, in *The Complete Prose Works of John Milton*, 2:492; hereafter cited as [*Areopagitica*] by page number.
4. [*Areopagitica*], 492.
5. Knoppers, "Rewriting the Protestant Ethic," 551.
6. Knoppers, 551.
7. Knoppers, *The Complete Works of John Milton*, 2:ix.
8. Lewalski, *The Life of John Milton*, 400; Murray, "The Liberty of the Subject and the 'Pris'ner Samson,'" 157–58. Although the facts of Milton's imprisonment remain obscure, the poet was held

for several months in 1660 for his role in Cromwell's government before ultimately being released, due it seems to the intervention of Andrew Marvell and William Davenant.

9. See Achinstein, "*Samson Agonistes* and the Drama of Dissent," 133–58; also Achinstein, *Literature and Dissent in Milton's England*, 138–53.

10. Kelly and Wittreich, *Altering Eyes*, 11. After 9/11, the poem became a topic for public debate; see Carey, "A Work in Praise of Terrorism?"; and Mohamed, "Confronting Religious Violence."

11. Fish, *Surprised by Sin*, 9, 43.

12. Milton, *The Complete Shorter Poems*, 402 / line 1382; cited hereafter as [*Samson Agonistes*] by line number.

13. Dobranski, "Restoring *Samson Agonistes*," 41–61, offers the most extensive examination of the 1671 *Omissa* and *Errata*.

14. Guillory, "The Father's House," 148.

15. [*Samson Agonistes*], 357 (Argument).

16. [*Samson Agonistes*], 357 (Argument). Judges 16:22: "They brought him down from Gaza and bound him with bronze shackles; and he ground at the mill in the prison."

17. [*Samson Agonistes*], 357 (Argument).

18. [*Samson Agonistes*], lines 5–6.

19. [*Samson Agonistes*], 35–36.

20. [*Samson Agonistes*], 7–8; 151–52.

21. Hoxby, *Mammon's Music*, 212.

22. Murray, "The Liberty of the Subject," 152. See also Hoxby, *Mammon's Music*, 205–32; and Achinstein, "*Samson Agonistes* and the Drama of Dissent."

23. Murray, "The Liberty of the Subject," 152.

24. Fish, *Surprised by Sin*, 9, 43.

25. Guillory, "The Father's House," 148.

26. Petty, *The advice of W.P. to Mr. Samuel Hartlib*, B2^{r}–B2^{v}.

27. "Charles II, 1664," 516–20; Ellwood, *History*, xv–xvi, 129–30. Subsequent citations to Ellwood's text will follow the first edition: Ellwood, *The History of the Life of Thomas Ellwood* (1714).

28. Achinstein, "*Samson Agonistes* and the Drama of Dissent," 139.

29. Slack, *From Reformation to Improvement*, 77–101, offers an overview of these efforts.

30. Pearl, "Puritans and Poor Relief," 210.

31. Lewalski, *The Life of John Milton*, 172; Pearl, "Puritans and Poor Relief," 216. For internal evidence of coordination, see Greengrass and Hannon, *Hartlib Papers*, 57/4/11/12A, hereafter cited as *HP*.

32. Slack, *From Reformation to Improvement*, 91, 87.

33. *HP*, 57/4/12/A–10B: "Act for relief and employment of the poor," 1649, 17 or 57/5/12/10A.

34. *HP*, "Printed Pamphlet Related to the Relief of the Poor" [Leonard Lee, *A Remonstrance humbly presented*], 57/4/3/10A. Webster, *The Great Instauration*, 49. In the late 1630s Parliament considered rededicating the Savoy Hospital, adjacent to Bridewell, to the cause of an "Universal" college; the Savoy's lands were a traditional migrant encampment folded into the original house of correction's property at its own refoundation.

35. *HP*, "The Poor Man's Friend," 57/4/11/12B.

36. Webster, *The Great Instauration*, 362.

37. Hartlib, *Londons charity inlarged*, 10.

38. Petty, *The advice of W.P. to Mr. Samuel Hartlib*, B2^{r}–B2^{v}; Webster, *The Great Instauration*, 367. Marx, *Capital*, 1:142, 174n34, points to Petty as a founder of political economy. A Latin

dictionary from 1657 defined "Jayle or Prison" as "Carcer," and "House of Correction" as "Ergástulum": see Hoole, *Vocabularium parvum Anglo-Latinum*, 42. Another dictionary defines "Egaster" as "A Workehouse" and "Ergastule" as "A Gayle": see Cockeram, *The English Dictionarie*, E^{v}.

39. Lewalski, *The Life of John Milton*, 172, 123: "At St Bride's, [Milton] wrote the *Epitaphium Damonis*, made an abortive start on an epic . . . and began to develop and implement his ideas about educating the young."

40. Lewalski, *The Life of John Milton*, 172–73; *Letter, John Hall to Hartlib*, in *HP*, 60/14/5A, December 21, 1646[?]: "I am much Ambitious of the Accquaintance of Mr Milton (who is here said to be the Author of that excellent discourse of Education yow were pleasd to impart)."

41. Norbrook, "*Areopagitica*," 10, 16; Norbrook is something of an exception to the more general opinion that *Areopagitica* had "little discernible influence," as Ann Hughes puts it (at least in comparison to the tract's later fame); see Hughes, "Milton, *Areopagitica*, and the Parliamentary Cause," 201n1.

42. Lewalski, *The Life of John Milton*, 180.

43. *HP*, 47/12/3A–4B, 4A, "Notes on Council for Schools, Hartlib."

44. Lewalski, *The Life of John Milton*, 172–73.

45. Raylor, "Milton, the Hartlib Circle," 383, 404, 405. Achinstein, *Milton and the Revolutionary Reader*, 65, notes Milton's own "silence about whether women or the poor could qualify" as the kind of activist and ethically engaged readers *Areopagitica* imagines. Raylor argues that Milton's educational plans were elitist ones.

46. Raylor, "Milton, the Hartlib Circle," 404–5.

47. Slack, *From Reformation to Improvement*, 79.

48. *Directions of the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Commons of the City of London in Common-Councell assembled* (1650), broadside.

49. Petty, *A treatise of taxes and contributions*, H.

50. Petty, *An essay concerning the multiplication of mankind*, 43.

51. *HP*, "Copy Proposal for Employment of Poor Immigrants to the City," 53/13/1B.

52. *HP,* "Copy Memorandum On Relief of the Poor," 12/2/11A; emphasis added.

53. *HP*, 12/2/11A.

54. Slack, *From Reformation to Improvement*, 83.

55. *HP*, "Copy Memorandum on Relief of the Poor," 12/2/11A.

56. Stanley, *Stanleyes remedy*, or 57/4/7/2B as catalogued in *HP*.

57. *HP*, "Act for the Relief and Employment of the Poor" (1649), 57/5/12/10A. "The workehouse of Bridewell" was a common phrasing, or "a workehouse for the poore and idle," also the "house of Bridewell": see Stow, *A Survay of London*, 340.

58. Slack, *From Reformation to Improvement*, 84: For example, Benjamin Worsley proposed a project to manufacture saltpeter or potassium nitrate, a chemical used as a fertilizer and in firearms, from the excrement of the workhouse inhabitants. Worsley calculated that a workhouse with a hundred fifty people could produce ten tons of saltpeter per annum.

59. Smith, *Literature and Revolution in England*, 26–32; Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, esp. 57–67; also Norbrook, "*Areopagitica*," 6.

60. Petty, *The advice of W.P. to Mr. Samuel Hartlib*, B2^{v}, also D.

61. Petty, B2^{v}.

62. [*Areopagitica*], 549.

63. Petty, *The advice of W.P. to Mr. Samuel Hartlib*, B2^{v}.

64. Petty, B2^{v}.

65. Petty, B2^{v}; see also D2^{v} for extensive lists of all the various kinds of indices recommended.

66. *HP*, 53/36/1B, "Remonstrance on William Petty's Design for Advancement of Learning." Johns, "Reading and Experiment in the Early Royal Society," 252.

67. Petty, *The advice of W.P. to Mr. Samuel Hartlib*, D3.

68. [*Areopagitica*], 552.

69. [*Areopagitica*], 532, 562.

70. Petty, *The advice of W.P. to Mr. Samuel Hartlib*, B2^{v}.

71. Petty, B2^{v}.

72. Petty, B2^{v}.

73. Milton, *Of Education*, A1^{v}.

74. Petty, *The advice of W.P. to Mr. Samuel Hartlib*, B3^{v}.

75. *HP*, "Remonstrance," 53/36/1B.

76. *HP*, 53/36/1B.

77. Pearl, "Puritans and Poor Relief," 223.

78. Webster, *The Great Instauration*, 361; Leonard, *The Early History of English Poor Relief*, 272.

79. *HP*, "Copy Proposal," 15/2/55A.

80. *Severall propositions tendered by the Corporation*, broadside.

81. Hartlib, *Londons charity inlarged*, B2^{v}, C4.

82. *Several propositions tendered by the Corporation*, broadside.

83. Slack, *From Reformation to Improvement*, 86.

84. Odling, *To the right honourable*, broadside.

85. Governors for the Poor, *At a court*, broadside.

86. Pearl, "Puritans and Poor Relief," 225.

87. *Severall propositions tendered by the Corporation*, broadside.

88. *A true report*, broadside.

89. Pearl, "Puritans and Poor Relief," 229.

90. Slack, *From Reformation to Improvement*, 91.

911. [*Samson Agonistes*], 357 (Argument).

92. Schwartz, "*Samson Agonistes*," 638.

93. [*Samson Agonistes*], lines 1392–93.

94. [*Samson Agonistes*], 412–13.

95. Hoxby, *Mammon's Music*, 207.

96. [*Samson Agonistes*], 1287–89.

97. [*Samson Agonistes*], 1298–99.

98. [*Samson Agonistes*], 1092–93.

99. [*Samson Agonistes*], 1335–37.

100. [*Samson Agonistes*], 1709–11.

101. "Charles II, 1664: An Act to prevent and suppresse seditious Conventicles," in Raithby, *Statutes of the Realm*, 5:516–20; cited below by regnal year.

102. 16.Car.2 c.4, II.

103. 16.Car.2 c.4, III.

104. 16.Car.2.c.4, X.

105. 16.Car.2.c.4, XVI.

106. Von Maltzahn, "John Milton," 31; Knoppers, *The Complete Works of John Milton*, 2:lxxxviii.

107. Ellwood, *History*, K5^{v}.

108. Ellwood, K6^{v}.

109. Ellwood, K6^{v}.

110. Ellwood, K7.
111. Ellwood, K7.
112. Ellwood, K7.
113. Ellwood, K7^{v}–K8.
114. Ellwood, K7^{v}–K8.
115. Ellwood, K7^{v}–K8.
116. Achinstein, "*Samson Agonistes* and the Drama of Dissent," 138.
117. Ellwood, *History*, K8.
118. Ellwood, K8.
119. Achinstein, "*Samson Agonistes* and the Drama of Dissent," 137.
120. Ellwood, *History*, K8.
121. Ellwood, L^{v}.
122. See Beier, "Foucault Redux?," 33–52, for a succinct discussion of these competing influences.
123. Ellwood, *History*, L^{v}, N^{r}; emphasis added.
124. Ellwood, L2^{v}.
125. Ellwood, L2^{v}.
126. Ellwood, L2^{v}.
127. Ellwood, L4^{v}, M3.
128. Ellwood, M3^{r}–M3^{v}.
129. Ellwood, M3^{r}–M3^{v}.
130. Ellwood, M4^{v}.
131. Ellwood, M8^{v}.
132. Ellwood, N.
133. Ellwood, N.
134. Ellwood, N.
135. Ellwood, N.
136. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 29–30, 295–305.
137. Ellwood, *History*, O4, N^{v}.
138. Ellwood, N^{v}.
139. Ellwood, N2.
140. Ellwood, N2^{v}.
141. Ellwood, N3.
142. Ellwood, N4^{v}–N5.
143. Ellwood, N5.
144. Archer, *Pursuit of Stability*, 244.
145. Ellwood, *History*, N5^{v}.
146. Ellwood, N5^{v}–N6.
147. Ellwood, N5^{v}–N6.
148. Ellwood, N6^{v}.
149. Ellwood, N3.
150. Ellwood, N3^{r}, L8.
151. Ellwood, M4.
152. Ellwood, M2^{v}.
153. Ellwood, M2^{v}.
154. Ellwood, M2^{v}.

155. Ellwood, M2^{v}.
156. *OED*, "arrant, *adj*., 1., 3.a."
157. *OED*, "beldam, *n*."
158. *OED*, "beldam, *n*."
159. Ellwood, *History*, M4^{v}.
160. Ellwood, M4^{v}.
161. Ellwood, M6^{v}.
162. Ellwood, M6^{v}.
163. Ellwood, K6.
164. Ellwood, M6^{v}.
165. Ellwood, M6^{v}–M7.
166. Ellwood, L7^{v}.
167. Ellwood, N^{r-v}.
168. Ellwood, N2.
169. Ellwood, O3^{v}.
170. Murray, "The Liberty of the Subject."
171. Ellwood, *History*, M6^{v}–M7.
172. Ellwood, N.
173. Ellwood, M3^{r}–M3^{v}; Carey, *Samson Agonistes*, 1633–35.
174. Ellwood, *History*, N^{v}.
175. Ellwood, N3.
176. Knoppers, "'England's Case,'" 587.
177. Dobranski, *Milton, Authorship, and the Book Trade*, 10, 51: "According to the simplest explanation," Dobranski writes, "while touching up the manuscript before sending it to the printer, Milton made the revision in the margin or on a separate piece of paper that the compositor initially overlooked." But the self-referential quality of the lines, along with bibliographical evidence, convince Dobranski that the omission was intentional.
178. Knoppers, "'England's Case,'" 587.
179. [*Samson Agonistes*], 1521–38.
180. Wilson, *The Arte of Rhetorique*, fol. 99–100; Puttenham, *The Art of English Poesy*, 300–301. Also [Cicero], *Rhetorica ad Herrenium*, 319 (4.36); and Quintilian, *The Orator's Education*, 9.1.30. Cooley, "Reformed Eloquence," treats Milton's use of this figure.
181. [*Samson Agonistes*], 1531.
182. Dobranski, *Milton, Authorship, and the Book Trade*, 55; and Knoppers, "'England's Case,'" 587.
183. Dobranski, *Milton, Authorship, and the Book Trade*, 60.
184. Ellwood, *History*, N6^{v}.
185. [*Areopagitica*], 565.
186. Knoppers, "'England's Case,'" 587; Knoppers, *The Complete Works of John Milton*, 2:lxiv.
187. Knoppers, *The Complete Works of John Milton*, 2:lxiv: Georgetown University Library Special Collections, 75A395, O5.
188. Knoppers, 2:lxiv: Huntington Library, 105656, O5.
189. Knoppers, 2:lxiv: Beinecke Library, Ij M642 671, O5; Beinecke Library, 684.d.33, sig. [O5]; University of Western Ontario, specol B133, O5.
190. Knoppers, 2:lxiv: Illinois, 821 M64 1671, copy 23, O5.
191. University of Pennsylvania, Rare Book and Manuscript Collection, EC6 M6427 671p, O5.

192. Knoppers, *The Complete Works of John Milton*, 2:lxxiii–iv; Knoppers also points out manuscript emendations in Trinity College Library, Cambridge University, copy H.21.3[2]; and Houghton Library, 14485.18(D).

193. Knoppers, 2:lxxiv.

194. Knoppers, 2:lxxiv.

195. [*Samson Agonistes*], 357 (Argument).

196. See Leo, *Tragedy as Philosophy*, 251–53.

197. Ellwood, *History*, N^{v}.

198. [*Samson Agonistes*], 1355.

199. [*Samson Agonistes*], 1257–61.

200. [*Samson Agonistes*], 573.

201. [*Samson Agonistes*], 564, 566.

202. Achinstein, *Milton and the Revolutionary Reader*, 67.

203. [*Areopagitica*], 531, 533, 536.

204. [*Areopagitica*], 531.

205. [*Areopagitica*], 531.

206. [*Areopagitica*], 531.

207. [*Areopagitica*], 532–33.

208. [*Areopagitica*], 533.

209. [*Areopagitica*], 534.

210. [*Areopagitica*], 534.

211. [*Areopagitica*], 536.

212. [*Areopagitica*], 486–570, 492.

213. [*Areopagitica*], 492.

214. Wilson, *The arte of rhetorique*, Bb4.

215. [*Areopagitica*], 493.

216. Achinstein, *Milton and the Revolutionary Reader*, 67.

217. Fish, "Driving from the Letter," 242; [*Areopagitica*], 554.

218. Soni, "The Trial Narrative," 16. See also Soni, *Mourning Happiness*.

219. [*Areopagitica*], 510.

220. Soni, "The Trial Narrative," 16.

221. Soni, 5.

222. Watt, *The Rise of the Novel*, 173.

223. Soni, "The Trial Narrative," 8.

224. Soni, 8.

225. [*Areopagitica*], 492. Richardson, *Pamela*, 24.

226. Richardson, 337. [*Areopagitica*], 514.

227. Soni, "The Trial Narrative," 9.

228. Milton, *Paradise Lost*, Book 9 line 33; hereafter cited as [*Paradise Lost*] by book and line number.

229. [*Paradise Lost*], 4.71–81.

230. Read, "Rhetoric and Rethinking," 209.

231. [*Paradise Lost*], 4.948.

232. [*Paradise Lost*], 55; Fish, *Surprised by Sin*, 9, 43.

233. [*Paradise Lost*], 1.301–13, 1.338–55.

234. Fish, *Surprised by Sin,* 43.

235. [*Paradise Lost*], 4.183–93.

236. [*Paradise Lost*], 4.191.
237. [*Paradise Lost*], 4.192.
238. [*Paradise Lost*], 4.193.
239. Cooley, "Reformed Eloquence," 240.
240. Lewalski, *Paradise Lost*, 270.
241. *OED*, "correction, *n.*, 1.b."
242. Cooley, "Reformed Eloquence," 240.
243. Fish, *Surprised by Sin*, 43.
244. *OED*, "correction, *n.*, 1.b."

CONCLUSION

1. Overton, *The humble Appeale*.
2. Overton, 1, 14. Mowry, "'Commoners Wives who stand for their Freedom and Liberty,'" 322.
3. Overton, *The humble Appeale*, 7.
4. Overton, 7.
5. Overton, 7.
6. BCB-09, fol. 289 / 342.
7. BCB-09, fol. 289 / 342.
8. BCB-09, fol. 289 / 342.
9. BCB-09, fol. 289 / 342.
10. BCB-09, fol. 289 / 342.
11. BCB-09, fol. 289 / 342.
12. BCB-09, fol. 289–290 / 342–3.
13. Overton, *The humble Appeale*, 8.
14. Overton, 4–5.
15. Overton, 8.
16. Overton, 9.
17. Overton, 9. BCB-01, fol. 1 / 34.
18. Innes, "Prisons for the Poor," 61–77; Griffiths, *Information, Institutions, and Local Government*, 173–224.
19. Trinity College Dublin, "Luke Challoner commonplace book," IE TCD MS 358 358, fol. 16^{v}.
20. TCD MS 358 358, fol. 15^{v}.
21. TCD MS 358 358, fol. 17.
22. TCD MS 358 358, fols 32–130.
23. 10 & 11 Car. I, c. 4. Dennehy, "Crime, Criminal Policy, and Law Reform in Seventeenth Century Irish Parliaments," 17.
24. Penn, *The Papers of William Penn, Volume 2*, 222: *Laws agreed upon in England,* article X.
25. McKnight, *The Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania in the Time of William Penn*, 128–142. Consider Manion, *Liberty's Prisoners*.
26. TCD MS 358 358, fol. 15v.
27. Overton, *The humble Appeale*, 7.
28. Overton, 7.
29. BCB-01, fol. 1 / 34.
30. *OED*, "correction, 1.b., under correction."

31. This phrase, *le monde correctionaire*, is the title of Foucault's third chapter in the original *Folie et Déraison: Histoire de la Folie à l'âge Classique* (1961), a chapter that was cut in the abridged version (*Madness and Civilization*, 1964), which became the dominant English translation until the publication of *History of Madness*, ed. Khalfa, trans. Murphy and Khalfa (Routledge, 2009).

32. In the United States, although prison populations declined roughly a fifth from their height around 2010 to the end of 2020, numbers began to rise again thereafter. Anne Carson and Rich Kucklow, "Prisoners in 2022—Statistical Tables," U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, revised October 15, 2024. https://bjs.ojp.gov/document/p22st.pdf.

33. Garland, *Punishment and Modern Society*, 136.

34. Milton, *The Complete Prose Works of John Milton, Volume II*, 552.

35. *OED*, "correction, *n*.," 1b.

36. Halpern, *Poetics of Primitive Accumulation*, 28.

37. Foucault, "Maurice Blanchot," 7–60.

38. *OED*, "painful, adj., 4a: "performed with or involving great care or diligence" from 1475 on.

39. Halpern, *Poetics of Primitive Accumulation*, 29.

40. BCB-04, fol. 346 / 692.

41. Ellwood, *The history of the life*, N^{r}.

42. Ellwood, N^{r}.

43. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 29–30.

44. Halpern, *Poetics of Primitive Accumulation,* 29.

45. Donne, *Fifty Sermons*, fol. 435 or OO3.

46. Ellwood, *History*, K6.

47. Ellwood, N3.

48. Ellwood, O3^{v}, N6^{v}.

49. Ellwood, K7^{v}.

50. Milton, *Paradise Lost*, 453 or Book 8 lines 460–461.

51. Milton, 8.46–41.

52. Milton, 55.

53. Milton, 1.666.

54. Milton, 8.461.